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THE GOLD DEN

BOKE OF MARCVS
AVRELIVS EMPE-
ROVR AND
ELO-
QVENT ORATOVR.

ANNO.M.D.XXXIX.



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of the first table have gone forth to the world,
and the second table have gone forth to the world.



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As the tyme is an inuenter of nouelties, and
 a register certayne of thynges aunciente, and
 at the ende tyme gyueth ende to that suffereth
 ende: The truthe all onely amonge all thynges
 is priuiledged, in suche wyse, that whanne
 the tyme semeth to haue broken her wynges, than as im-
 mortall she taketh her force. There is nothyng so entier,
 but it diminisheth, no: nothyng so hole, but that is wep,
 no: nothyng so strong, but that it breaketh, no: nothyng
 so well kept, but that it corrupteth. Soo all these thynges
 tyme acheueth and buryeth, but onely trouthe, the whiche
 (of the tyme, and of all thyng that is in the tyme) trium-
 pheth. Neyther to be fauoured of the good, no: to be per-
 secuted of the yll, maye be, but that somtyme trouthe may be
 stopped and hydde, but whan it is displeased and wyl dis-
 please, than at the laste she cometh to a good porte, and
 taketh lande. The frutes in the spryngynge tyme haue
 not the vertue to gyue sustenaunce no: persytte swetenesse
 to satisfie the taste of them that eateth therof: but thanne
 passeth the season of sommer, and haruest cometh, whi-
 che tyme dothe better ripe them, and thanne that that we
 doo eate dothe profite vs, the prose therof is ryghte saue-
 rynesse, and gyueth the more force and vertue, and the
 greater is the taste. I wyl in these fyrste wordes saye,
 that in the fyrste aeges menne were more esteemed by theyr
 meke customes and delycatenes, than they were after re-
 proued by theyr grosse and rude vnderstandynges. Cer-
 taynely somme of the aunciente philosophers, I speake of
 the mooste aunciente, as welle Caldees as Grekes, who
 fyrste lyfted theym selues to regarde the sterres of the he-
 uen, and surmounted the hyghe mounte of Olympius,
 there to contemplate and regarde the influences of the

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planettes in the heuen : I dare well saye, that they haue rather merited pardon by theyr ignoraunces, than pray-
 syng of grace by theyr wysedome. These were the fyrste
 that wolde serch the trouthe of the elementes of the heuen,
 and yet they were the fyrste that dyd some errours in thynges
 naturall of the erthe. Homere in his Illiade sayd these
 wordes in speakynge of philosophers : I prayse nothyng
 the knowlege of myne auncesters, but I can them greatte
 thanke and prayse, in that they despyed knowlege. This
 was wellesayde of Homer. For if amonge the auncyente
 men had not raygned suche ignoraunce, there had not ben
 soo many sectes of parcialities in euerie schole. He that
 hath redde the aunciente antiquities of the philosophers,
 shall not deny me, the presumption of the knowlege and
 ignoraunce of that they desired to knowe, the whiche is
 chiefe cause, that science is not all one. There is greatte
 nombre of parcialities, Cynitiens Catoniens, Peripati-
 ciens, Academpens, and Epicuriens, who were as contra-
 ry in their opinions, as dyuers in theyr naturalities. I wil
 not that my penne be so dismeasured to reprove soo moche
 the aunciente men, that the gloxy all onely shoulde abyde
 with them that be presente. Cruely if he merite guardon
 and prayse, that sheweth me the way, wherby I thynke to
 passe : yet no lesse meriteth he that sheweth and aduylethe
 me of the waye, wherby I maye faile. The ignoraunce of
 the aunciente men hath ben but as a gyde to aduylse and
 aduertise all other, and bycause they erred, we haue founde
 sith the waye, to theyr great prayse, and to our greet shame.
 I say that if we that be nowe presente had benne than, we
 had knowen lesse than they dydde. And if they that were
 than were nowe at this houre, they shoulde surmounte vs
 in knowlege. And that this is trewe, it appereth well. For
 the auncient sages, with theyr diligece to know the trouthe,
 by

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by their close and ferme made the wayes: But we by oure
flouthe folowe not the open wayes. Than to the pourpose
that I wylle saye, we that be nowe present, canne not com-
playne of theym that haue bene, but that the trouthe (the
whiche accordynge to Jul. Cel. is doughter of the tyme)
In this tyme of the worlde declarethe to vs the errours
that we ought to flee, and the trouthe of the doctrine that
we oughte to folowe. But as nowe the humayne malpce
is so experte, and the vnderstandynge of mortall menne is
so dulle, that in tyme of nede, in goodnesse of wyt we saye,
and in all pyle we knowe more than we oughte to knowe.
In suche wyse, that some with one parte of the more, and
some with lesse, all presume to wynn the game. And though
this be true, yet it is but a smalle thyng to that we abyde
foze: There is soo moche that we oughte to knowe. For
the mooste that we knowe, is the leaste parte of that we be
ignorant of, as the thynges naturall, accordynge to the va-
rietie of the tyme, lyke maner dothe the operations of the
elementes. In semblable wise in thynges mortall, as the
ages hath succeded, so are discovered the sciences. For cer-
tayne all the frutes commeth not togyther. whan one say-
leth, an other begynneth to enter in reason. I wylle saye,
that nether all doctours amonge christen menne, nor all
the philosophers amonge the gentylles were concurrante
in oone tyme, but after the deathe of one good, an nother
camme better. The hygh and supreme wysedome, the whi-
che all meane thynges gouerneth by Justyce, and depar-
teth it accordynge to his bountie, wylle not that at oone
tyme the worlde shulde wante or be destitute of sage men,
nor at an other tyme want of symple personnes: some de-
spyrnge the fruite, and some the leaues. In suche sort that
they shulde haue enuye of that other were inapched. This
auncient worlde that ranne in Saturnus dayes, the whi-
che

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che otherwysse was called the Golden worlde, the whyche was so esteemed of them that sawe it, and soo moche praysed of theym that herde the wrytynge thereof, and soo moche despyed of them that felt no parte therof, was not golde by the sages that dyd gyfte it, but bycause that there was none yll that dyd vngylte it. This our age now is of yron: yet it is not calld of yron, for faute of sages, but bycause the malycious people surmounte. I confesse oone thyng, and I thynke I shall haue many wylle fauour me in the same, that there was neuer in the worlde soo moche people teachynge vertue, and soo fewe folowynge the same. Aul. Gele sayth in his boke, that the auncient sages were holden in reputation, bycause there were fewe teachers and many lerners: and at this howe it is contrary, there be but fewe lerners and many teachers. The smalle esteeme that the sages be in at this tyme maye be seene by greatte veneration that the phylosophers were holden in as than, the whiche thyng was trewe: Homer amonge the Grekes, Salomon amonge the Hebrewes, Lygurge amonge the Lacedemoniens, Lyuie amonge the Romayns, Cicero amonge the Latines, Apolonius Thianeus amonge all the barbarike nations. I desyre to haue bene in all these ages, whan the worlde was so ryche of sage persons, and so pooze of symple persons, whan they assembled out of ferre countreies, and of dyuers realmes and straunge nations: not all onely to haue hard their doctrines, but also to haue sene theyr persones. I thynke I am not begyled in the hystories, for whan Rome in his mooste prosperitie was hyghest in triumph, Titus Lilius dothe wryte it in his histories, and the glorious sapnte Hierome affirmeth it in the prologe of the byble, that mo people came to Rome to see the eloquencies of the bookes, moze than to toy any Romayne triumph. Sohan Olympias was deliuered of her chylde the great Alexander

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Alexander, Philpp her husbände and father to the yonge
chylde wrote a letter to Aristotle, wherin he sayde : I geue
greate graces to the goddis, not all oonely that they haue
gyuen vnto me a sonne, but bycause they haue gyuen hini
to me in the tyme that thou mayste be his mayster, and he
thy disciple. Marc Aurele the emperour, of whom this pre-
sente boke intreateth, he speakynge of hym selfe wrote to
Dolion these wordes : frende I wyl thou knowe, that I
am not made emperour by reasone of the bloud of my pre-
decessours, no; yet for the fauour of my lynage nowe pre-
sent, but it was bycause I haue ben alwayes a frende and
louer of the sage people, and enemy to them that haue noo
good knowlege. Ryght happy was Rome to chole so va-
lyant an emperour, and ryghte fortunate was that empe-
rour to comine to suche an empire, not by pattimonie, but
by sagenes. And yf that auge was glorious in ioyenge of
his persone, no lesse it is to vs to ioye of his doctrynes. I
wyl intitule this boke the Golden boke. It maye be called
golden, bycause in so hygh estimation it holdeth the ver-
tuous, discoverynge in theyr tyme this boke with the sen-
tences, as these princes holdeth their myndes of golde in
theyr Indes. But I save that at this houre there be moo
hartes banyshe into the Indes of golde, than to employe
them to rede the warkes of this boke. Salust saythe, that
there ought greate gloire be gyuen to theym that haue done
there hygh and great actes : And that there oughte no lesse
fame and renowme be gyuen to those that in a good stile
haue wrytten them. In this case I confesse to deserue noo
merites for my traduction or any fame, but I demaunde
pardon of all theym that be sage, for the fautes that they
shall fynde therein. For excepte the diuine letters, there is
nothyng so well wrytten, but that there maye be founde
necessitie of correction, lyne, and sensure. Seemed this to

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to be trewe, by that Socrates was repproued of Plato, and Plato of Aristotle, Aristotle of Ibenrup, Scilio of Sulpice, Lelie of Varro, Marinius of Tome, Enio of Horace, Senec of Iule Sele, Estratocles of Strabo, Telato of Salene, Hermagore of Cicero, Oigen of saynt Jerom, saynt Jerome of Ruffyn, and Ruffyn of Donate: Sythe that in them and in theyr workes there hath bene correction, who were men of hyghe knowlege, it is no reason, that I shulde be in their fraternitie, seynge that I knowe so lytell as I do to the examination of wyle and vertuous men. To them I submytte this present warke, and to them that haue ben suche, I them require to be contente to be the readers and not iuges therof. It were no patience to suffre, no; lawe to permytte, that a thyng that a sage personne with great maturitie and delyberation hath wrytten, to be dyspraysed by a symple person. For ones readyng, oftentimes the auctoures and wryters are dyspraysed, not of them that can traduce and compose werkes: but of them that can not vnderstande them, and yet lesse rede theym. I save further of aduantage, that dyuers haue wrytten of the tyme of the sayde Marke Aurelio emperour, as Herodian wrote lyttell, Eutropio lesse, Lampydio yet lesse, Iulius Capitolyn somewhat more. The wrytynges of theym, and of other semeth rather epitomes, than histories. There is difference betwene this wrytynge, and that they wrote by herynge save: but they, by whome I haue composed this present warke, they were wytnesse by syght, and not by herynge of othe, but they wrote what they sawe them selfe: That is to say amonge the mapsters, who lerned the said emperour their sciences, there were thre, that is to say, Iunio Rustico, Cina Catule, and Sexto Cheronense, newe to the greatte Plutarke. These bene they that haue wrytten this present hystorie, Sexto Cheronense in greke, and

P R O L O G V E .

and the other two in latyne, I thinke of this historie is but small notice, bycause vnto this houre it hath not be seene imprinted. When I departed from the college of my study, and wente to preache in the palays, where I sawe soo many newe nouelties in the courtes, I delybered my selfe with greatte desyre to knowe thynges, and gaue my selfe to serche and knowe thynges aunciente. And the case fortunèd on a day, redyng an historie, I founde therein matter to be noted in a pistell, and it seemed to me so good, that I put all myne humayne forces to serche farther. And after in reuolupnge dyuers bokes, serchynge in dyuers libraries, and also speakynge with diuers sages of dyuers realmes, fynally I founde this tretise in Florence, amonge the bokes left there by Cosme de Medicis, a man of good memozy. I haue vsed in this wytyng, the whiche is humayne, that that dyuers tymes hath ben vsed in dyuinitie, that is to reduce, not worde for word, but sentence for sentence. For other interpretours are not bounde to gyue for the meane the wordes, it suffiseth to gyue for the weyghte the sentence: As the historiographes, of whom there were dyuers, and the historie that they made was all but one thyng I wll not deny, but I haue lefte out some wordes, whiche were not mete, nor well sittynge, rude, and leaste of valure, and I haue medled it with other moze swete and profitable. I thinke that euery wyse man, after he hath redde this boke, wll not saye that I am the principall autout of this worke, nor yet to iuge me so ignoraunt to exclude me clene from it, for so hyghe sentences are not found at this presente tyme, nor to soo hyghe a style they of tyme past neuer attayned.

 Here endeth the
prologue. .

Here

Here beynneth the boke of the lyfe of the noble
and eloquent Marke Aurely emperour.

Of the byrthe and lygnage of Marke Aurele
Anthony emperour. cap. primo.



At the yere of the foundation of Rome. vi. C.
lxxxv. in the Olimpiade a. C. lxi. Anthony
the meke, beinge deed, than consules Fulvius
Caton, and Gnee Patrocle in the hyghe capp-
tol, the. iiii. daye of Octobze, at the demaunde
of all the people Romayne, and consent of the sacred Se-
nate, was declared for emperour vniuersall of all the mo-
narche of Rome, Marc Aurely Antony. This excellent
baron was naturally of Rome borne in the mounte Celze.
And accordyng as Iulius Capito lyne sayth, he was borne
the. vi. kalendes of Maye, the whiche accordyng to the
account of the latyns, was the xxvi. daye of the monethe
of Apryll passed. His father was named Anio Vero. For
the occasion wherof the histories dyuers tymes calle hym
Marc Anthony Vero. True it is, that Adriane the empe-
rour called hym Vterissimus, bycause in hym was neuer
founde no lyes, nor neuer fayled the trouthe. These Anus
Viteres was a lignage, that auauenced them to be descended
of Numa Pompilio, and of Quinctus Curtius the famous
Romayn: whiche for to deliuer the towne of Rome frome
perille, and to gyue his persone perpetuall memoze, of
his owne good free wyll he yelded hym selfe to the same
voyage, that as than was sene in Rome. The mother of
this emperour was called Domitiade, as Cyne histoxien
recounteth in the boke of the lygnages of Rome. The
Camilles were persones in that tyme greatly esteemed, by
cause they were accompted to be descended of Camille the
famous

famous and aunciente capitayne Romayne, whiche deli-
uered Rome frome the Gaulles, that hadde wonne it. The
men that descended of that lygnage were called Campl-
li, for the remembraunce of Camille, and the women were
like wyle called camilles, in the remembrance of a dought-
er of the sayde Camille, that was called Camilla.

There was an auncient lawe, that al Romaynes shuld
haue a particuler priuilege in the same place, where they
predecessours had done to the Romayne people any greate
seruyce. For this auncient custome they had priuilege, soo
that all they of the lygnage of Camille were kepte and
maynteyned in the hygh capitol. And though the varietie
of the tyme, the multitude of tyrantes, the ebullition and
mouynge of cruell warres were cause of the dimynishinge
of the aunciente Polycie of Rome, and introduced in ma-
ner a lyfe not very good: yet for all that we reede not, that
the preemynences of the Romaynes were broken, but if
it were in the tyme of Sylla, whanne he made the vniuer-
sall prescription agaynst the Marians. After the deathe
of this cruell Sylla, in exaltynge of hym selfe, Julius
Cesar the pitiefull, made dictatour of Rome, and chiefe of
the Marians, adnulled and vndydde all that Sylla hadde
made, and broughte ageyne into the aunciente estate the
common welthe.

What hath benne the condicions, the estate, pouertie,
rychesse, fauour, or disfauour of the auncestours of this
marke Aurelye Emperour, we fynde not in the aunciente
hystories, and yet it hath bene diligently serched for. The
ancient Romayn hystoriens were not accustomed to write
the lyes of the emperours fathers, namely whanne they
be made monarches, but the merites and graces that
they chyldren had, as for the auctoritie that they hadde in-
heritynge they fathers. Trowthe it is, as saythe Julius

Capitolyn the father of Marke Aurelee the emperour, had ben p̄tourt in exercises, and capitayn in the frontiers, in the tyme of Traian the good, and Adriane the wyle, and Anthony the meke, emperours. This is confirmed by that the same Marc Aurelee wrot (being at Rhodes) to a frende of his calld Polyon, that was at Rome, sayenge thus: Many thynges haue I felte and knowen frende Polyon, by the absence of Rome, namely of that I se my selfe here alone in this yle: but as vertue makethe a straunger naturall, and byce tourneth naturalle to a straunger: And as I haue ben. x. yeres here at Rhodes to rede philosophy, I therby repute my selfe as naturall of this lande, and that hath caused me to forgette the pleasures of Rome; and it hath lerned me the maners of the yle. And here I haue founde many of my fathers frendes. Here was capitayne agaynste the Barbariens, to my lozde Adrian, Anthonye my father in lawe, the space of. xv. yeres. I lette the to wytte, that the Rodyan people are curteis, and full of good graces. I wolde haue redde philosophy as longe as my father hadde ben at Rhodes in warre, but I may not: for Adrian my lozde commaundeth me to go and kepe residence at Rome, howe be it euerye man reioyseth to see his naturall countrey.

¶ So by the wordes of this letter it is to be beleued, that Anio Vero father to this emperour Marke, hadde applyed the mooste parte of his lyfe in warre. It was not the custome lyghtly to truste a persone, to haue the office of a gouernour on the frontiers, without he had bene well exercised in the feates of warre. And as all the gloire of the Romanes was to leaue after theym good renowne, the sayd Marke certaynely was taken for the mooste vertuous, and hadde greatest frendes in the Senate, wherby he trusted on the conquest of the mooste cruell ennemyes: accordynge

as the sayde Serto Cheronense historien saythe. The Romayns all though they had in theyr handes mooste perillous warres, yet they hadde in foure partes of the empire stronge and entier garnisons. That is to saye, in Byzance, the whiche is now Constantynople, by reason of theym of the oriente: And Engades, the whiche now is called Caler a citie of Spayne, for loue of them of the weste: In the ryuer of Rhodano, which is now the ryuer of Rhyne, for the Germanes: And in Collosse, whiche now is calledde the Rhodes, bycause of the Barbariens. In the kalendes of Januarie, whanne the senate deuyded the offyces, beinge pourueyed of a dictatour, and of two consules yere.

Incontynente in the thyrde place they prouyded for foure mooste excellent barons to defende the sayde foure frontiers: The whiche semeth to be true, for the mooste famous and renowned barons of theyr yonge dayes were capitaynes in the sayde frontiers. The great Pompeius was sent to the Byzauces Constantynople: The worthy Scipio was sente to the Collossences and Rodrans: And the courageous Julius Cesar was sente with the Gadytaynes of Calyr of Spayne: and the stronge esteemed Marcus was sente to theym of the ryuer of Rhyne. This we saye bycause that Anio Vero father to Marc Aurele emperour, had ben prouoste and pretour in the offices, and one of the capitaynes of the frontiers, whiche oughte to be in Rome one of the persons mooste esteemed.

What maysters Marke Aurely hadde
in his youthe. cap. ii.

We haue not by any autentike histories, from whens, whan, or howe, in what maner, or in what exercyses, or with what persons, or in what londe was spent and con-

Sumed the mooste parte of the lyfe of this good emperour.
 But to be shorte, Julius Capitolyns saith, that he had ben
 xliiij. yere vnder the commaundement of Adrian the empe-
 rour. Howe be it contrarie wyle is founde by other hysto-
 riens, accordynge as saythe Sertio Cheronense in his
 hystorie. It was not the custome of the Romaynes cron-
 clers, to wyte the thynges doone by these princis, befoze
 they were princis, but onely of younge people, beinge in
 their yonge age, haupnge greatte and hie magnificence,
 and doinge great enterpryses. This semeth to be of trouthe,
 for Sueton Tranquille recounteth largely the fearefulle
 dedes and enterpryses doone by Caius Jul. Cesar in his
 yonge age, to shewe to princis to comme, howe it was a
 great ambition, that they had to attayne to the monarchy,
 and but of smalle wyte and maturitie to kepe theym selfe
 therein. It is no newe thyng that menne gape for hyghe
 and frayle thynges. And the moze higher the magnificence
 is, the moze lower they fele fortune. And whan they were
 diligent to accomplishe their desyre, as moche thought
 had they to conserue their quietnes and reste. In case than
 that Anio Nero, father to Marke the Emperour, folowed
 the exercise of warres: yet he put his sonne in the waye to
 lerne science. For there was a lawe soore vsed and accusto-
 med, and well kepte in the Romayne polycpe, that euery
 citisens sonnes, that enioyed the lybertie of Rome, and
 had accomplished .x. yeres, shoulde not be suffered to goo
 by the stretes as vacabundes. Nor it shulde not be suffred
 by the Censure, who gouerned Rome, and dayly toke hede
 to the forfaytes done therein, to suffer a chylde noo lengat
 than .x. yeres of his age to play the chylde. But fro thense
 forth the father of the chylde shulde be bounde to nourishe
 hym out of the circuite of Rome, or to laie a pledge, that
 his sonne shulde do no folpes. Whan Rome triumphed,
 and

and by their polycie gouerned all the worlde, it was certainly a meruaylous and monstrous thing to see it than, and no lesse fearefulle vnto vs nowe to here therof. There was at that tyme in Rome.iiii. hundred thousande inhabitants, among whom there was.ii. hundred. M. yong people, that were restrained and bydded from their yong pleasures. The sonne of Cato was chastysed, because he was wylfull and presumptuous. And also the brother of good Epna was banysht, because he wente ydelly as a vacabunde. Without that Cicero begyleth vs in his booke of the Romayne lawes, no Romayne ought to straye abrode in the stretes of Rome, but if he bare in his hand the signe or token of the offyce, wherby he lyued. To the intent that euery man shuld knowe, that he lyued by his trauaile, and not by the sweate of other men. This lawe was kepte of euery person. The emperoure hadde bove before hym a byrennyng bande: The Consulle an axe of armes, the priestis a hat in maner of a copse: the Senatours a tonge in maner of a crucible on their armes, the Censure a lytell table, the tribunes a mace, the centurions a sygne or baner, the oratours a booke, the gladiatours a swerde, the tayllours sheres, the smythes a hammer, and in lyke wise of all the other offices and craftes. we maye knowe than by this that is sayde, that after that Marke Aurelye was bove at Rome, his father in his yowthe had taughte hym good nuture. And though it soo were, that the begynnyng of his yonge age shulde be bydde from vs: at the leaste way we are certayne, that the myddell age and ende of hym was ryght glorious. His father Antio Nero wolde that his sonne Marcus Aurelius shulde leaue feates of armes, and folowe studie. And surely it is to be thoughte, that it was doone more by the valpantnesse of the father, than the cowardenesse of the sonne, excepte the dedes of

them that be deed begyle vs that ben alpye, and the cause
 iudged by clere vnderstandynge, and that we fynde moo
 sentences of dyuers sadde personnes, that there hath benne
 but fewe that ben losse by wytynges and lernynge, yc and
 a great mynyon fewer that haue had auantage by armes.
 Reuolue all booke, and serche throughe all realmes, and
 finally they shewe vs, that very fewe in theyr realmes haue
 ben happy in armes, but there haue ben many famous and
 renowned by scripture and lernynge. Take here example,
 and se if it be true o; not that I saye. Had the Assyrians mo
 than one kynge, that was Ninus, one Lygurge amonge
 the Lacedemonians, the Egyptians one Ptholome, the
 Hebrewes one Machabee, the Grekes one Hercules, the
 Macedoniens one Alexander, the Epirotiens one Pirthe,
 one Hanniball the Carthageniens, and one Julius Cesar
 amonge the Romaynes. It is not thus of lerned men: for
 if the Grekes had one Homer, noo lesse the Grekes baun-
 teth them of the. vii. sages, whome we beleue more in
 theyr philosophy, than Homer in the warres of Troy. For
 as difficle it is to fynde a trouche in Homers, as a sye in
 these sages. Semblably the Romaynes hadde not onelye
 Cicerone as ryght eloquent, but also they had Saluste, Lu-
 can, Titus Liuius, with a great companie of noble men,
 and well approued, who haue left ryght greate credence in
 theyr scriptures in the sayinge of trouthe. What losse Cice-
 ro in the senate for vsynge of inuectiues. And as we saye of
 so small a nombre of Grekes and latynes, we maye saye of
 the Assyrians, Persians, Medes, Argiues, Scapiens, Pe-
 niens, Frenchemen, Wytons, Englyshemen, and Spa-
 nyardes. All the whiche nations withoute comparyson
 haue of them selfe leste more memoire, and haue honou-
 red theyr landes and countreies more by wytynges, thanne
 they that haue leste sygnes by armes. Than lette vs leaue
 these

these straunge hystories, and retourne to the pythe of ours
emperour Marcus Aurelius, as Eutrope recounteth.
Accordynge as this excellent baron lerned dyuers sciences,
so he had dyuers maysters to teache him. He studied gram-
mer with a mayster named Euphorion, musyke with an
other named Gemino Comode, eloquence with Alexander
a greke. In naturall phylosophy he hadde to his maysters
Comode Calcedonien an auncient baron, whiche expoun-
ded to hym Homer: and Sexto Cheronense neuewe to the
great Plutarche. Also he studied in the lawes, and Uolu-
sio Mecliano was his mayster. This Emperoure esteemed
to haue the knowledge of payntyng, and to graue in wood
and mettall, in erthe, and other sculptures, in whiche arte
his mayster was Diogenito, in his tyme a famous and re-
nowned paynter. He traauayled also to knowe and serche
what extended to the arte of Aggromancye. By occasion
wherof he went openly to here Apolonio. And to thentent
that there shulde be nothyng vnlernd of hym, he aboue
all sciences sette his mynde to Cosmographie, in the why-
che for his maysters, he tooke Iunto Rostyco, that sythe
wrote his lyfe, and Cina Catule, the whyche wrote of his
deathe, and the lyfe of Comode his sonne. Of these noble
and excellent barons, that flourysshed in those dayes, he
was taughte in vertues and sciences. Cicero lamenteth
the auncient polycie of Rome, because that he sawe greate
losse in the common welthe than presente, sayenge in his
rhetorike, that the auncient Romaynes had alway regarde
to that parte, where they thoughte mooste damage and pe-
rylle shoulde growe. There were. v. thynges amonge all
other in Rome, wherunto they hadde euer a bygilante re-
specte, the whiche the senate neded not to care for, nor noo
lawe dispensed for thym: and these bene they, the priestis
were honest, and the byrgins Vestales ryghte chaste: the
penal-

penalties right iuste, the capitaynes full valiante: They that taughte yonge chyldren were vertuouſe. It was not permytted in Rome, that he that was a maſter in ſcyences, ſhulde be diſciple of vices.

What ſciences Marcus the emperour lerned.

And of a meruapulous letter that he ſent to Dolon. cap. iii.



Philostate ſaythe, that it was demaunded of Dolon, who was the rycheſte manne of the worlde: He aunſwered, It was he that had moſte wyſedome. He was demaunded agayne, who was moſte pooſe: He aunſwered, he that had leaſte wytte. Of trouth it was a worthy ſentence of ſuche a perſon. The effect therof we ſee dayely by experience, the wyſe ſpydng in dyuers chaunces of fortune, releueth hym ſelfe. The vnwitty perſone in very ſmalles thynges touchyng his lypunge, not greatly decayed, falleth downe. There is nothyng that is ſo loſte, but that there is hope of recoueryng, if it be in the handes of a wiſe man. And contrary wiſe, there is nothyng ſo aſſured, but the recoueraunce therof oughte to be feared, if a ſole haue the guidinge therof. It was aſed of Xenophon the philoſopher, whether he hadde rather to be fooliſhe and a greaſte lord, or to be wyſe and pooſe. He aunſwered and ſayde, I haue pytie of a ryche fool, and I haue enuy of a wyſe manne waken pooſe. For if a wyſe man haue but one fote, yet wyll he ryſe and kepe hym ſelfe frome fallynge: And if ye gyue an abbaye to a fool, yf by fortune he fall, he wyll neuer releue agayn. ye maye thynke that the father that dieth and leaueth his ſonne pooſe and wyſe, that he leaueth to hym moche: And he that leaueth
his

his sonne ryche and folyshe, I thynke he hath lefte him no-
 thyng. These thinges considered, Anio Nero, father of
 the emperour, as a father that loued his sonne hartely, was
 not content, to deliuer one mayster to his sonne, to make
 hym vertuous, and to lerne one sciēce, wherwith he myght
 occupie his vnderstandynge, but he gaue hym many may-
 sters, that refreyned hym frome vyces, and commaunded,
 that he shuld lerne many sciences, to thentēt that he shulde
 be the more besply exercised. whan and howe moche he tra-
 uayled to lerne, and what sciences, and with whom, and
 with what wyll he leyned, and what he knewe, he wrote
 hym selfe, beinge at Agrippine, now called Coleyn, to a
 frende of his named Polion, as it foloweth.

Frende Polion, thou meruaylest, why that I leaue not
 to lerne newe thynges at the ende of my dayes. He that
 hath but one meate to eate, and can not eate therof, he le-
 ueth it, and peraduenture it was hollosom for hym, and ea-
 teth other thynges, that he seeth, whiche maye be hurtefull
 to hym. It is a greate magnificence to a man, to haue dy-
 uers sortes of meates: for if he haue noo luste to one, that
 is good for hym, he maye take of an other, that is better.
 He that is wyse, maye vnderstande me, without any more
 declarynge. As in all artes, a man is contente at the laste:
 so at the last, be they neuer so swete, they tourne to a wepy-
 nesse. He that knoweth but one science, though he be wyse,
 yet he renneth in great daungier. For beinge annoied ther-
 with, he wyll occupie his lyfe in other hurtefulle thynges.
 The noble and worthy personnes, that dyd caste slouth a-
 waye fro them, haue lefte of them eternall memorie, not
 wyllynge to lerne alonly one science, to attempte theyr vn-
 derstanding with, but also trauayled, to lerne dyuers other,
 wherwith they sharped theyr wyttes, to thentente that they
 shuld not be dulled and made blonte. In all naturall thynges

ges, nature is with ryght lytel content, but the spirite and vnderstandynge, is not satisfied with many thynges. And sythe the vnderstandynge is of suche condition, that it is losse by lybertie, and is lyghtely encombred, with subtiltie it perceith, with quyckenes it knoweth, and with ignozance it wasteth: it is necessarie, by tyme to remount to very high thynges, lest it bowe vnto lowe and yll thynges. All corporall damages, that chaunce to mortall men, are by medycines healed, or by reason remedied, or by length of tyme cured, or els by deth ended: The onely vnderstandynge, which is dusked in errours, and depzaued in malyses, canne nat be healed by medicines, nor redressed by reasone, nor holpe by counsell. The aunciente philosophers, in the sayd happye golden worlde, and golden age, dyd not all onely lerne one thyng, wherby they myghte susteine their lyfe, and encrease good fame: But they traauayled, to knowe all that was to be knowen, and yet euer sought to knowe more.

In the. lxxv. of the Olympiade, as dyuers persons were assembled in the hygh mountayne Olympus, to celebrate the playes, by fortune thither came a philosopher of Thebes, whiche had made all that euer he broughte with hym. He made his showes, his cote, and sewed his Merte, and had wrytten his bokes, and so of all other thynges. They that were there assembled, were abashed, and meruaylled greatly, that one man coude do it. He was dyuers tymes asked, where he lerned so many thynges. And he aunswered and sayde, The slouth of man is the cause, that oone arte is dyuided into dyuers artes. For he that knoweth all artes together, muste nedes knowe one alone. This philosopher answered highly. And surely, they that hard him, ought to haue ben as greatly ashamed of his wordes, as the philosopher was of the daynglorie of his apparell. Let every man remember hym selfe, and let no man blame the
Mort-

shortnes of the tyme, noꝝ wekenes of our nature. foꝝ there is nothyng so hard, but it is made softe: noꝝ so hygh, but it maye be taught: noꝝ kept so close, but it may be sene: noꝝ so subtyle, but it may be felt: noꝝ so darke, but it maye be lighted: noꝝ so profounde, but it may be discouered: noꝝ so dysseuered, but it may be gathered to gether: noꝝ so losse, but it may be founde: noꝝ so impossible, but it may be conserued, if with all our hartes, we occupie our powers in good exercises, and applye our vnderstandynge in hyghe thynges. I deny not, but our nature is lyttel worthe: But I knowe well, that lesse worth is our slouthfulnes. I wold demande of euill men, the whiche praye vs to be good, and aske counsell of vs, foꝝ theyꝝ sensualitie, sayenge, that they be weake and fraile, although they haue vnderstandynge, to inuent euils, and haue strength inough, to put them in effecte, and to perseuer therein, they neuer lacke constaunce. The cause is, we call it naturall, foꝝ to do and commyt vices and miseries. And slouth in vertue, we calle straunge and weake, bycause of the werkes.

Lette no man blame our nature, foꝝ beyng weake and fainte: noꝝ lay agaynst the goddes, that they be cruell: foꝝ we haue no lesse ablenes to do well, than redynesse to doo ill. Lette none say, I wold, and I can not withdraue me from vice. It is better sayde, I maye, but I wyll not folowe vertue. I wyll not defame straunge realmes, but I wyll speake of vs, that be latynes, and by theym shall be sene, howe they haue benne full of malyce, and that they myghte haue done well. I wolde wytte of the dedes, that Marcus Anthonius dyd wyth Cleopatra: The prescription, that Scilla made of the nobles of Rome: The conuitation, that Catilina inuented agaynst his countrey: The bloudde, that was shedde foꝝ the cause of Pompey, in the campe of Pharsale: And the greatte thefte, that Iu-
C.ii.
lius

lius Cesar made of the treasour, the cruelties, that Nero dyd to his mother: the shames, that Calpugula committed with his sisters, the treason that Brutus dyd to his father Caius: the shewdenes and cruelties, that Domitian dyd to the virgyns Vestales: the treasons that Julius Pastroclus vsed with the Syliciens and Syculians, the frayes and murders that Vlpio the martyr made in the temples and churches of Campayne. I wolde knowe of suche, as I haue reherſed, and dyuers other, that I ſpeke nat of, that applied them to ſo many ſhewde turnes, who letted them, (if they had wolde) to haue applyed them ſelfe to do other good dedes: All this I haue ſayde my frende Polpon, to aunſwere, to that ye haue demaunded of me. That is, in what ſciences I haue waſted and conſumed my tyme. Wherfore it pleaſeth me, to telle it to the. Anio Nero my father, ſuffred me but. viii. yere in my chyldehode: and than, tyll I was. x. yere of age, I went to ſchole for to write and rede: and fro. x. yere to. xiii. I wente to ſtudy with Euforion, and lerned grammer: fro. xiii. yere. to. xvii. I lerned eloquence, with Alexander the greke, a famous oratour: fro that tyme to. xxii. yere. I was with Serto Calcedon, lernynge naturall philoſophy. Thoſe yeres paſſed, I was at Rhodes, and ſtudied humanitie, tyll I was. xxxii. yere of age. And than I wet to Naples, where as I was thre yere with Fonton a greke, lernynge greke letters. And I put my good wyll ſo moche thereto, that I ſpake, and wrote greke moze eaſily than latyn. Than I retourned to Rome, where the warre of Dace aroſe, to the whiche Adrian my lord ſent me: And bycauſe that in armes, and in tyme of warre, I coude carie noo booke of ſcience, I determyned me, to lerne the ſcience of muſyke with Hieronymus Comode, to the intent that I myght with ſweetenes of inſtrumetes, reſtrayne my body fro certayn vices, whiche as than in
my

my house began to take force. All the reste of my lyfe, thou knowest, it hath ben in bearynge of offyces in Rome, vnto the tyme that the weyghte of the monarchye was layde on my shulders. Hyther to the emperour spake.

Than by this letter wrytten to his frende, it semeth well, that without sleuth he passed his tyme. It is reason, to beleue it holly, in that he hath sayd. For so excellent workes, that he made, and so hygh sentences, as he wrote, myghte not procede, but of a prudent man, and a very wyse spirite.

Howe for the wysedome of Marcus, many wyse men flouryshed in his tyme. Cap. iiii.



S the lyfe of the prince is but as a whyte, for all other to shote at, and as a glasse, wherein all the worlde doth beholde: so we se by experience, that wherevnto a prince is inclyned, the people trauallynge to folowe the same, haue not the dyscretion, to eschewe the euylle, and folowe the good. Certaynly they muse no lesse vppon a counterfayte fowle, made of fethers, than though it were of fleshe, and yet at the fyrste flyght, it leseth the lybertie, and yet his hunger is not thereby quenched. Whereby all the wynges of lybertie are tourned to peyne of scruage. It is a greatte offence, and an immortalle infamye to a pryncce, that in the steepe of gyrupnge his hande of good lyuynge, to re- leue other, casteth backwarde his fote of euyll example, whereby all other ouerthrowe. Than without comparison, greater is the wyckednesse of the people, than the negly- gence of the prince. For yf one lyueth yll, and an other fo- loweth hym, it is noo meruayle: and though there be but fewe, that folowe hym, it is noo newe thyng. For in case, that manye folowe hym is noo fearefull thyng: but all

M A R C V S

the hole to folowe hym, is a great sclaunder. If the people were such, as they ought to be, one shuld rather toyne from yll to good for many, than that many for one shulde tourne fro good to yll. Certaynly euery man knoweth, that though we be bounde to folowe the honest commaundmentes of our princes, yet we be not bounde to folowe they; yll lpyunge. What shall we saye thanne, seinge that now adayes, the delytes of menne are of so greatte pryce, and the rygout of they; empire, in so pooze estimation, that withoute shame, some dyspayle they; iuste commaundementes, and folowe their euill werkes. O, if the princes had suche nombze of good folke, that wolde fulfyll they; commaundemente, as they haue greatte nombze of wretches, that folowe they; doinges, I swere, that there shulde be no nede of any pryson for the mysdoers, or carcans for blasphemers, chaynes for sclaues, nor heddyng blocks for traytours, nor knyues for aduoutrers, nor galowes for theues. I wll gyue you example of all this, wherby ye shall see, that it is true, that I saye. If the kynge be inclyned to hunte, all wll be hunters: if he be a player, all wll playe: yf he vse armes, all wll tourney: if he be an aduoutrer, other wll vse the same: if he be fyerce, other wll be fierse: yf he be vertuous, all wll be vertuous and valyaunte: if he be temperate and moderate, all wll absteyne: if he be hardye, all wll be bolde: yf he be pitiefull, all wll haue pitie: if he be wyse, all wll lerne. And to the entente, that we blame not all onely the princes of our days, lette vs call to memo:re, the princis of tymes paste. Who that hath redde Sertus Cheronense, in his boke called the dyuers inclynatpons, that princis haue had, shall fynde, that Romulus, founda: tour of Rome, honoured greatly grauers in stone: Numa Pompilius, his successour, honoured priestes: Paulus Emilius, mariners: Caius Cesar, goldsmithes: Scipio, the

the capitaynes: Augustus Octavius tennys players: Caligula, ruffians, Tyberius, baudes: cruelle Nero, sword players: Claudius, writers: Scilla, armozers, Marius, his compaignon, grauers of ymages: Vaspasian, good paynters: Titus his eldest sonne, mynstrelles, Domitian, his myghty brother, crossebowe makers: And aboue all other, our Marcus Aurelius emperour, wyse menne. The dyuers inclinations, that princis had in dyuers thynges, hath made to vary the fauour and disfauour of many princis, with their people. And as the common people regardeth moze fauour, than Justice, suche officers are mooste fauoured, to whom princis dothe mooste inclyne. All this we say, to shewe, howe that in the tyme of this good emperour, wyse men were fauoured. If the hystorians doo not lye, sythe the tyme of Nercia, the Romaine (whiche was moche moze happye, to haue wyse menne to his frendes, than to inuent newe maner of meates and bankettes) vnto this Marcus Aurelius, haue passed .xviii. emperours, whiche were Julius, Octavius, Tyberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Othus, Vitellus, Vaspasianus, Titus, Domitianus, Nercia, Traianus, Adrianus, Antho-
nius, and Aurelius. And of all these, we can fynde all onely but two, that fauoured wyse men, that is to saye, Nercia and Traian. All the other emperours were nat onely disciples of Ipers, but also were persecutours of the trouthe. This seemeth to be trewe: for Julius persecuted Cicero: Octavius banished Quinde: Tyberius enpoysoned Calpurnio: Caligula caused to cutte the thyrotes of. iiii. oratours together: Nero slewe his mayster Senec: Claudius sette his vncle Lucan in pryson: Othus hanged vp Patroclus: Domitian banished all the oratours of Rome: And the moze to shewe his cursednes, whā the wise men, & were banished, wet out at one gate, there entred in at an other gate
all

all vntyriftes, the whiche by Tptus his bzother, had bene banysshed and exiled. And as I sape of these fewe in nom-
bre, I myghte sape of many other. For certaynely the wyse
men were nat thus intreated in the tyme of this good em-
perour Marcus: and that this is true, it semeth by dyuers
excellent barons, well lerned in diuers sciences, that flou-
rished in his tyme: Julius Capitolin recounteth of theym
as foloweth. Alexander, a greke, Trasion, Polyon, Cuti-
cius, Anius Macrion, Caninius, Crodiaticus, Fornius,
Cornelius, Apolonius, Aius, Sertus Cheroneuse, Juni-
us Rasticus, Claudius Maximus, Cina Catulus, Clau-
dius Seuerus, and the renouined Diogenitus paynter,
and the well lerned lawyer Volusius Mecianus. All these
were in this emperours palayes, and residente in his pre-
sence: And yet for all that, he had dyuers other wyse per-
sons in Rome, and abrode in Italy. It was no metuail, to
se in those dayes, the multitude of men, that flourished in
wysedome. There was no father, but if he had two sonnes,
he wolde set one of them to study, and the other, accordyng
to the Romayne lawe, shulde be sette to the warres. And if
this emperour wylt of any wyse yonge man aboue al other
he wolde fauour hym.

Of the emperour Marcus sonne named
Verissimus. cap. v.



His emperour Marcus Aurelius, hadde onely
two sonnes, as Herodian saythe. The greatte
test and eldest, was called Comode, and the yō-
gest was named Verissimus. He was a fayre
childe of person, and right vertuous of liuing.
With his beautie he drew to hym the eyes of many, and
with his good inclinations, he robbed the hartes of all
men

men. He was the hope of the people, and the glorie of his fathers age. And though the eldest was pynce, yet the emperour determyned, that the laste bozne, for his vertues, shulde inherite as the eldest: And he that was fyrste bozne, for his demerites, shulde be disherited. And as good Despres in the best tyme sayle often by vnhappy chaunce, this emperour beinge of. lii. yeres of age, and the sonne of. xvi. the glorie of Rome, and hope of the father, the lyfe of the sonne toke an ende. And as moche was the deathe bewayled, as the lyfe despyed. It was great ppytie, for the senate by reason therof sawe not the emperour, nor the olde emperour for sorowe sawe not the senate of a longe space.

Rome was ryght heuy, and the senate withdrew them to the heyghte of the capitoll dyuers dayes. And as the mystes and wyndes cause the leaues to falle, that were grene in sommer, and the dedes of honour constrayne vs to forget the myshappes of fortune, & as a man of hygh lynage, and of stronge courage, though he that sorowe remaine in his harte, and abydethe locked therein, determynethe to clense the bryanches of sorowes that is outward, sayning ioye and mythe outwardely, keepinge the sorowe within: so this Marcus the emperour, as a man whose byne free-seth and dyethe, wherin he had all his hope, contented him with that was lefte behynde. Whan his dere sonne Nerulsimus was deed, he sente for the pynce Comode his onely inheritour, whiche sythe the chylde his brother was deed, entred not in to the palays. And the emperour seynge the proude and outragious porte of his sonne Comode, bedewed his eien with salte teares, remembrynge the shame of the one, and the deathe of the other. The whiche perceyued by Faustyne his mother, whiche loued hym moste entierly, commaunded to haue her sonne awaye fro the presence of his father.

D

what

What wyse and auncient men Marcus chose to
instructe his sonne. Cap. vi.



Thoughe that the harte of this emperour was occupied with the deathe of his chylde, yet for all that he reysed his vnderstandynge, to haue the prince his heyre ryght well broughte vppe. For certaynely princis bene suche, whan they come to mans estate, as they be broughte vp in theyr tender youth. The father than knowynge the staple inclinations of his chylde, not correspondente to the good gouernaunce of the empire, as a good emperour sent ouer all Italye for the mooste wysest persones in lernynge, the mooste famous of renowne, and the mooste vertuous in dedes. And as in dyuers thynges the infamy is greater in the yll doynge by malyce, than the faute of the trespassour by weakenes: so in dyuers other thynges, the common voyce is more than the secreete vertue. For the whiche occasyon after the assemblynge of these wyse menne, the emperour commaunded to examyne them, and to be informed of the bloude of theyr predecessours, of the appoyntemente in all their thynges, and of the treatie of theyr busynesse, and of the credence amonge theyr neyghbours, and of the purenes of their lyues, and grauitie of theyr personnes and specially of theyr sciences, what they coulde do, and this to be done in an order. The astrologiens in astronomye, the musitiens in musyke, the oratours in theyr arte of Rhetoryke: and some in other sciences. And this not in one daye, but in many: and not onely by information of other, but he wolde knowe hit by his owne propre experyence. Thus they were all examyned, soo that there was none lefte behynde. And as for perfecte knowlege of thynges, wherin we haue great affection, it behoueth to haue straunge ad-
upse

upse, cleere vnderstandynge, and propre experyence: so the
emperour commaunded to chosse out of dyuers a fewe, and
out of fewe the wyssest, and of the wyssest the moste experte,
moste worthy, and moste auncient. And accoꝝdyng to the
bit. attes lyberall there was assigned to euery science two
maysters: soo that the prynce was one, and the maysters
tiii. This renoume that the Emperour sente ouer all, to
haue maysters foꝝ his sonne the prynce, caused to come to
hym moo wyse men from straunge countreys, than of the
marches and neyghbours of Rome. The good emperour
consideryng that it was no reason, that suche as came to
his serupse, shulde retorne myscontented, some with toye-
full wordes, some vpon certayne hope, and some with gyl-
tes and presentes were dispatched, soo that they were all
pleased. And if this doynge was renoumed by the repoyte
of the wyse men, it was no lesse vertuous by the wysedome
and worthynes of the emperour, to sende theym home soo
well contente. Foꝝ he sent them away as well satisfied that
were ouercome, as they were cōtented that ouercam them.
And certaynly they had all reason, foꝝ some bare the swete
wordes and satisferyng of the father: and somme aboode
there charged with the enterpryse of the sonne. Yet the
good emperour, not beinge contented with this comman-
ded that these maysters shoulde be lodged in his palayes,
and eate in his presence, and accompany his personne, to
se if they lyfe were confoꝝmable to theyꝝ science, and whe-
ther theyꝝ pleasant and wel couched wordes, agreed in effect
with theyꝝ warkes. It was a meruaylous thynge to see the
study and thought that the emperour had to regarde them,
as well in goynge as sedynge.

D. ii.

Howe

How it chaunced to fyne wylse men, when
foze they were put out of the empe-
rours house. Cap. vii.



In the month of Septembre, the.xi. day thereof,
in halowynge the feaste of the Emperours nati-
uitie, in the same house where as he was borne,
in the place of mount Celio: As a trewande and
foole dothe lyke hym selfe, and semblable as
he is accustomed to doo. And lyke as oone dothe the sem-
blable thynges and customes, that he is wonte to doo: so
the emperour set moze his intention on wylse men, than hi s
cies on fooles. He saue. v. of them satte beatynge the paue-
ment with theyr feete, and arose frome theyr places, clap-
pyngge theyr handes, speakynge lowde, and laughynge ex-
cedyngely, the whiche was noo lesse marked of the empe-
rour than beholden. When the feaste was doone, he called
thepm asyde, and sayde: Frendes lette abyde with me the
pitiefull goddes, and lette the good dedes go with you.
I haue chosen you to thentent that foles shulde be conuer-
ted to wylse men, but I see wylse men become foles. Do ye
not knowe, that with the fyre of myxture golde is drawen,
and by the lyghtnes of fooles wylse menne are proued: Cer-
taynly the fyne gold defendeth his qualitties in the quicke
fournayes: and lykewise the wylse manne sheweth his ver-
tues amonge fooles. Wote ye not, that a foole can not be
knowne amonge fooles, no: a wylse manne amonge sage
folke: Amonge wylse men, the fole is made bryghte, and a-
monge fooles wise men do shyne. Do you not knowe, what
shame it is to make the disciples of foles, maisters of prin-
cis: Knowe ye not, that of the couragious vnderstandynge
procedethe the composytion of the bodye, the reste of the
person to be the temperaunce of the tonge: What profyteth
it you

it you to haue an experte tounge, a quicke memoꝛie, a clere vnderstandynge, great science, profounde eloquence, or a swete stile, if wth all these graces ye haue a wycked wyl: Wherfoꝛe wyl wyse men haue their woꝛdes so distinct and moderate, if their woꝛdes be lyght: And to thentent that it shulde not seme to you that I speake of pleasure, I wyl byynge to you an antyke lawe of Rome. In the seuenthe table of the lawes of our fathers was w^{ritten} these woꝛdes: We commaunde, that a moꝛe greuous chastysmente be g^uen to the wyse manne foꝛ a lyghte dede done openly, than to a secrete murderer. Iuste lawe and iuste men that ordeyned it. Foꝛ the simple labourer sleeth but one with his knyfe in his angre, but he that is wise sleeth many with the euill example of his lyuynge. Curiousely I haue regarded, that Rome begynneth to declyne, when our senate faylethe of meke and wyse Senatours, and multiplyeth with these serpentines. The holy senate was adorne with olde prudente persons: And not without teares, I saye at this houre it is full of ianglers and lyers, Auncientely in the scholes of Grece was taughte onely woꝛdes, leaupnge the werkes: and than in Rome was taughte to do werkes, and leaue woꝛdes. But nowe it is contrarpe, foꝛ nowe in grece the lyers and ianglers are banysshed, and hath sente them to Rome: and Rome hath banysshed and sent the good wyse menne in to Grece: and in this maner I desyre rather to be banysshed in to Grece with wyse menne, than to abyde in Rome with fooles. To the prayse of a good man (I sweare to you my frendes) that whyles I was yonge, I sawe in the senate the philosopher Crisippus (broughte vp with good Traian) speake oftentymes: and he was so swete in his woꝛdes, that many tymes he was harde moꝛe than thre houres to gether: And he neuer spake worde but it was of eternall memoꝛie. And whan soo euer he wente

out of the senate, I neuer sawe hym do dede, wherby he deserued to haue greuous peyn. Certainly it was a meruaylous thyng to see & here the estimation of his eloquence, & the infamy of his person. All Rome was abashed of his high eloquence: and all Rome and Italy were slandered with his wycked werkes. The prosperitie of Rome dured CCC. yere. And so longe Rome was Rome, as it had simplicitie in wordes, and grauitie in workes. One thyng I shall shewe you, which is great confusion to them alpye, and great admyration to them that be deed, that of all the aunciente men I neuer redde a lyght word that they spake, nor an yuell dede that they dydde. What thyng was seene than in that glorious worlde, but to reioyce in so glorious wyse men? And now at this daye the worlde is so corrupted, bycause there is so many ponge corrupt, surely I haue gratter enuy of theyr dedes thanne of our wrytynge. Theyr fewe wordes and good werkes haue lefte vs example of greate admyration. And the wyse men of this tyme teach vs openly, and write vs secretely doctrines of pation. Than by this that I haue sayde, and by other examples that I shall saye, ye maye knowe what I meane. Whan the realme of Acape submytted his peryllous hornes and his proude heed, to the swete obeyssaunce of the empire, they drewe them to this condition, that they wolde haue benne the hoolies of the garnysens of all Asye, and not disciples of the oratours of Rome. At that season there was in Rome a greate lorde, ambassadour of Acape, temperate in wordes, and honeste of luyng, with a whyte heed: He was enquired of the senate, why he was so cruell, to leade into his countrey for men of warre, poore and couetous squyers, and leane wyse men of greatte harte. He answered with suche loue as he had to his countrepe, and with suche grauitie as longed to suche a persone, and also
with

with suche hardynes as his offyce requyred, sayinge O fa-
 thers conscriptes, O happy peple, It is. ii. dayes sith I yete
 any thyng, and. ii. dayes sythe I slepte, cursynge the fa-
 tall destenyes of fortune, that hath broughte me into Ita-
 lye, and lamentynge vnto the goddis, that kepe me in this
 lyfe, bycause my spirite is betwene the harde anuelde and
 the importunate hammer, where as I do se all is as harde
 as the anuelde, wheron the hammer often strykethe. The
 thyng mooste peryllous amonge all perylles, is to make
 election. ye constrayne me to chose, and myne vnderstan-
 dyng canne not attayne therto: and the goddis doo not
 shewe me, what I haue to choole. If I leade garrisons
 of menne of armes, it shall be verpe noyfull to the famy-
 lyes: if I bynge aduocates, it shall be peryllous for the
 common welthe. Sorrowfull that I am, what shall I do?
 Oh heuye and unhappy realme, that abydeth for theym,
 and ye cruell, that commaundeth theym. Than sythe it is
 thus, I determyne me to leade theym, that shall waste our
 goodes, and spende them, rather thanne those that should
 corrupte and breake our customes. For a legyon and an
 army by necessitie maye put to affliction and sorowe onely
 a people: But an oratour or an Aduocate by his malycie,
 maye corrupte a hole realme. Than sayde the emperour to
 these wyse men: frendes, howe greatte is the credence of
 ignorant people, and losse of lerned men: wherfore shulde
 they of Acate rather gyue meate to poore souldiours, men
 of armes, than to haue for theyr neyghbours oratours and
 wyse speakynge aduocates: So whan this communycation
 of the emperour was ended, the .v. greatte mapsters
 wente awaye with greatte shame, and the. ix. other tarped
 with greatte feare. In all this whyle it passed not two mo-
 nethes after, that the prynce Comode, was come from his
 noyces, where as he hadde lerned the doctrine of suchynge
 of

of bestes. Also he was but of tender age, and not of greate delycate vnderstandyng. This prince Comode was borne in Rome on the mount Celio, and nourished at the gate of Hostie. He was more derely beloued of Faustina his mother, then hated of Marcus Aurelius his father. And to speake with all due honour amonge them, the mother held her for certayne to be the chyldes mother: and the chyld accoꝝdyng to his customes was moche lyke his mother: and the father was in doubte, whether he were his sonne, bycause he resembled but lytel in vertues to the father.

Howe the emperour reasoned with the mapsters
that shulde lerne his sonne
Capitulo. viii.



A these matters beinge, passe, the good emperour for to esteeme the thyng that he hadde done, and to pouruey for that he had to do, he called asyde the nyne wyse men, and sayde to them, There is greatte fame in Rome of that I haue done in thempire, to doo suche dyligence as to dyscouer all the wyse menne, and of the curiositie that I haue shewed as in certaynyng of the beste. Of trouthe yf ye be wyse, ye can not be sclaudered of any thyng. The annoyance of yll thynges cometh of wysedome and vertue, but the admyꝝation of good thynges procedethe of smalle vnderstandyng or lesse experience. The wyse person wyll suffre none admyꝝation. To shewe at the fyrste byꝝonte motion in euery thyng, shewed to be constante in nothyng. I haue made strait examynation among you, for so oughte suche to passe as shulde be admyꝝted to strait amyttes. Fewe amities is wey in thre dayes: and euer haue I sene and proued by experience, that frendes lyghtely taken,
are

are lpghtely lefte agayne. I chaunced in companye of an
 auncient Romayne, whiche was all whyte for age: and
 bycause he merited it, I called hym father, and he for loue
 and nurture called me sonne: the whiche in case of aduen-
 ture enquired many thynges of me, but I wolde make
 hym none aunswere. Than he sayde these wordes to me:
 Son beholde, In the lawe of frendshyp it is written, that
 the frende in all thynges trusteth to his frende, fyrst regar-
 dyng who is his frende. Surely this counsell was good.
 The curious man of armes (if he wyl bye a horse) fyrste he
 wyl se hym renne and assayed, or he speake of the sale of
 hym: if he please hym not, though he myghte haue hym
 for a lesse prce, he wyl not haue hym: if he please hym,
 what so euer the prce is set, he wyl not leaue hym. Than
 it is a lesfull thyng, that the beste be examyned and felte
 et he be had into the stable. In lyke wyse a manne shoulde
 be examyned, et he be receyued in to amytie. And if the
 horse that eateth but hey, strawe, and otes, be lefte for one
 yll tatche, moche more the frende, whiche is the intestyne
 of the harte, and oughte to kepe out secretes and affecty-
 ons, for byuers fautes oughte not to be receyued in to the
 same. There was a philosopher named Aristo, the fyrste
 that was in the tyme of Sylla and Marius, who sayde,
 that frendes ought to be lyke good horses: That is to say,
 that they oughte to haue a lyttell heed by humble conuer-
 sation: quicke of heryng, to the entente that they be redye
 whan they are called: a softe mouth, to thende that they
 tongue be temperate: The houe of the loote harde, to suf-
 fer trauaylle: and theyr handes open to doo good dedes:
 theire fete sure to perseuer in amytie: a baye colour for his
 good renowne: And spynally the hors retournethe, that is
 the manuall frende: And thereto is ioyned these wordes:
 That is, that he be without curbes and bittes: and that he
 may

inape go where as any fatall destenpes, tourneth the byp-
 dell and reygne of fortune. The goddes vnderstande me,
 though that men can not attayne therto or comprese it. Re-
 tournyng than to the purpose, I wyl pce knowe, bycause
 I haue taken you for frendes, not to putte you awaye at
 length. And though that cherytrees produceth they? flou-
 res in februarye, we abyde not to haue the cherries but in
 Maye. Frendes oughte to be as molberies, that in suche
 tyme producethe they? beries, whiche is they? fruite, that
 they feare not the frostes of Maye, as the vynes doo:
 nor the mystes of Octobze, as the peches and quinces doo.
 I wyl not that they come whanne the prosperitie is good,
 and go awaye whan the fortune is nought. For that is no
 pointe of true frendes. As the lyes of wyues causeth don-
 kardes to vomyt in the tauernes, lyke wyse aduerlitie dri-
 ueth away faynt frendes out of the house, bycause the ser-
 uice is not acceptable, without the wyl be knowen of hym
 that dothe it. Thanne holde you sure of my contentation,
 sythe that I haue it of your warkes. I come nowe to the
 effecte of our pourpose. I haue taken you for to be map-
 sters of this chyld: and regarde, that I haue taken you
 fewe amonge many, to thende that my sonne shulde be no-
 ted amonge fewe. His nurses at the gate of Hostie haue
 gyuen hym two peres sucke of they? mylke, and his mo-
 ther faustyne hath gyuen hym other two peres to spoyle
 hym in the Palayes. And I lye a good father wyl gyue
 hym. xx. peres of chastisement. It sooze displeaseth fau-
 styne his mother to leaue hym so sone, and I am sorre that
 I toke hym so late. It is no meruayle, for these womenne
 with they? lyghtenes, and these chyldren with they? small
 knowlege, occupy them selfe in theynges present: But wo-
 thy wyse men oughte to thynke on that is passed, and also
 to ordeyne for that that is presente, and with great study to

prouyde for the kynle to come. I thynke on every daye in
 the yere, and of the daye that the goddes haue gyuen me,
 and of the daye that I gyue vnto you. The goddis to me,
 and I to you do gyue hym moztall to be as a manne, and
 than you to me, and I to the goddis do render hym immor-
 tall to be wyse. what wyll ye that I say more? Certaynely
 god hath made hym man amonge men by the soule: and
 I haue engendred hym a beaste amonge beastes by the
 fleshe, ye shall make hym a god amonge goddes by shape.
 I ascertayne you of one thyng, whiche is, I haue not gy-
 uen to my chyldre but mortalle fleshe, wherwith he shall
 take an ende of his lyfe: but ye shall gyue hym doctryne,
 wherwith his memoire shall neuer peryshe. If his yowthe
 knewe the weake and fayne fleshe that I haue gyuen hym,
 and that his dull vnderstandynge wold reache to the wyse-
 dome that ye maye gyue hym, he shoulde calle you fathers,
 and me an ylle stepfather. And though he saye not so,
 yet I confesse it: that is, that the naturalle fathers of the
 fleshe are stepfathers of nobyltye, in the that we gyue the
 naturalite of their subiecte to so many mutabilites, and
 bonde and captiue to so many infirmities. For certayne ye
 shall be iuste fathers to hym, if he now ye canne enable
 his fleshe in good customes, and then to bypne his vnder-
 standynge to be occupied with high sciences. And sye, re-
 put it not amysse that I comynge to your charge and ar-
 bytment, that I charge which pynces oughte mooste to
 regarde, that is, to se to whom they comynge the noursy-
 shyng of theyr chyldrene. To be masters of pynces in
 erthe, is to haue the offyce of the goddis that ben in heuen.
 For they gouern hym that hath cure to gouerne vs: They
 endoctrine hym that shoulde teache vs: they shewe vnto
 hym, that oughte to shewe vs: Chastise hym that oughte
 to chastise vs: and fynally they commaunde one, the whi-

che afterwarde aloone maye commaunde all the worlde.
 What will ye that I shall say more? For certayne they that
 haue the charge of a prince, be the gouernall of the shyppe,
 the standerde of an armie, the gouernaunce of people, the
 guide of wayes, the shylde of kyniges, the treasure of all,
 because they haue amonge their handes, hym that after-
 warde oughte to gouerne all the worlde. And furthermore
 to the intent that ye haue hym in more estimation, I will
 telle you, that in gruyng me sonne vnto you, I do grue
 you more, than if I had gruen you a realme. The pure and
 cleane luyng of the sonne aloue, is the gloriois fame of
 his father that is deade. For of hym, that the sonne tru-
 steth in his lyfe, dependeth the renoume of the father that
 is deade. Thus haue ye hadde the goddis at wille, and the
 byttell desieries of fortune happye to you, as vnto this
 howe ye haue not watched with chylterne of straungers.
 And henceforth wake ye with the prince, whiche is the pro-
 fyte of al other. And take good heed my frendes, that there
 is greater difference in bringyng up of princis chyltern,
 than to teache yonge boies of the common people. The
 mooste parte of them that come to scholes, come for to lerne
 to speake, but I deliuered not my sonne. Comynode to you
 to lerne hym to speake many wordes, but for to sette hym
 in the way to do good dedes. The glorie of folke fathers
 is to see their chyltern vanquish other in disportinges, but
 my glorie and ioye is to see my sonne surmounte other in
 vertue: for the glorie of the Grekes was to speake moche
 and to do lyttell, and the glorie of the Romaynes is to doo
 moche and to speake but lyttell.

**Howe the masters of princis ought
 to kepe them from byres.**

Capitulo. xlii.

Marcus

MARCUS AVRELIUS folowynge his pourpose, shewed this to his foresayde wordes, and sayde: Regarde wellemyn frendes, and forgette nat, that I trust you in myne honour, who am my sonnes father, and of the sturpe of Comode my sonne, and of the gloire of Rome my naturall countrepe, And of the solace and resse of Rome, whiche is my subiecte: Of the gouernance of Italy, whiche is your countrey: And aboute all thynges of the peace and tranquillitie of our common welthe. Than he that is put in truste with suche administration of other, hath noo cause to slepe. Nowe lette vs come to more particular thynges. Regarde as nowe, what thyng is mooste conuenable for my sonne, whiche as a yonge colte wolde go play in the grene medowes, and noysome shall be the keper to hym, and a thyng peynesfull to kepe hym therfroo. The fyrste thyng, wherof I pray you, is to gyue hym a stronge byrdell, and a sharpe bytte, to the entent that he be well mouthed, so that none take hym with lyes. The greattest faute that can be in men of honestie, is to spare the trouthe, and not to be veritable: And the greatteste byllayne in a byllayne is to be gyuen in largesse of lyes. Sette good order vppon hym. Take hede to his handes, to the entente that he accustomme hym not to demaunde to playe at the tables and dyce with suche as be losse and naughte. The greattest token, that a pryncce will loole and destroye the empyre, is when in his yonge age, he is knowen to be vycious in playe. The playe is suche a vyce, that who so euert it bytethe, it is lyke the bytynge of a madde dogge, the whiche rage endureth vnto deathe. I recomende to you my chyld, though he be yonge, make hym sad and moderate. Certaynly it is not so great a gloire vnto a pryncce to haue the crowne on his heed, no: a chayne of gold about

his shulders, no: the sceptre in his hande, no: the greatte
 company and garde that he hath aboute hym, as to shewe
 sadnesse frome his yowthe. The open honestye supplieth
 many fautes and debilities. Spare not to caste on hym a
 stronge chayne, and to tye hym faste, that he goo not to de-
 lytes and vanities. For an effeminate persone neuer hath
 spirite to any hye or noble dedes. I am greatlye satisfyed
 with that the teacher of Acre sayd to his disciple: Though
 I wylt that god wolde pardon me, and that men knewe no
 mysse of me, yet for the vyllany of the fleshe, I wolde not
 spurne in the fleshe. Surely they were good wordes, and yf
 borne awayne of Acre. Let not yet goo the repne. For if he
 see the ponge mates, he wylt neigh or braye if he see tyme.
 The vyce of the fleshe in all tymes, in all ages, and in all
 estates holdeth his season or course, if it passe not in the
 grene age of chyldhode, castynge of the repne of reason,
 and stryking with the spures of the fleshe, and blowynge
 with the trompe of sensualitie: Takynge the byddell in the
 fethe with a furious wylt, rennyng throughe mountaynes
 and woddes after the mare: In leapynge her goynge but
 softelye and in the ouertakynge moche lesse. And than af-
 terwarde beynge therein delyberate, the body remayneth im-
 potent, the vnderstanding adloied and blynded, the reason
 troubled, the good name losse, and yet neuer beleffe at the
 laste the fleshe remaineth fleshe. What remedie for this?
 I fynde none other but that a greatte quicke fyre, couered
 and laden with erthe, dyeth. And whan the virtuous man is
 laide in his graue, he maketh an ende and maye neuer cor-
 recte hym selfe. wherfore I aduise you to gyue noo place
 to this ponge chylde to be vyicious. And in the chastysynge
 of hym, gyue noo respite, though he be younge, and my
 childe, and wel loued and cheryshed with his mother, and
 though he be the only heire of the nyper. With chyldren of
 a stran-

a stranger crueltie is tyranny, but a mannes owne chyldre pitie is the occasion of his losse in tyme to come. It is shewed vs by trees, how we ought to nourishe our chyldren. Of trouthe the chestain trees brynge forth the softe swete chestnut out of the sharpe pickinge and hard huske: And on the nut trees amonge the swete softe leaues, is nourished the harde nutte. Applieng this to our purpose, we haue seene a pittiefull father, brynge forth a cruell son, and a cruel father a pittieful sonne. He that was lerned amonge all other lerned, and renoumed among all other renoumed, Ligurgus kinge of the Lacedemoniens, in giuinge his lawes in his realme, I remembre to haue redde therein these wordes: we commande as kinges, and pray as men, that all thyng be forgiuen to them that be olde and broken: and to them that be yonge and lusty, to dissimule for a tyme: a nothing to be forgiuen to beere yonge chyldren. In good sothe these were good wordes spoken of suche a persone, and semethe reasonne. For it is reasonne that the hors, that hath runne and passed his course of carpage, shoulde reste hym. And who that hath passed rightouselye, it is Justice that he be suffered in reste. And the chyldre that wyl passe reasonne, ought to be reformed. Cause hym to be alwayes occupied in vertuous actes. For if the vnderstandynge be dulled, and the body slouthfull in suche a age, with greatte dyscultye wylle they drawe to thynges that be straunge to theyr delectatyon, bycause that the lyghtenesse is in the heed, and reasonne vnder the eyes. His yowthe wylle demaunde you some recreation, whiche ye shall consyder, soo it be not often nor so seldome. I praye that it be by reasonne: Secondely that they be taken in noble exercyses. Take hede, for I gyue not my sonne vnto you, that ye shoulde gyue hym recreation, but onely for to teache hym.

The

The henne hauynge her egges vnder her wynges, in that season gothe not abrode in the parden, and though the egges be not her owne, yet she hatcheth the ym, as if they were her owne, for this cause at this tyme in Rome of a C. disciples. lxxx. cometh forth withoute doctryne, for yf they masters wast two houres in doctryne with them, they lese with the. xx. houres in mockerye. And therof it is, that of the small grautie of the mayster, spryngeth great boldenes and lyttell shame in the disciple. Beleue me frendes, that the teachers to princis, and maysters to disciples, profite moze in one day with good exammples, than in a yere with many lessons, My sonne seynge you drawe to vertues, wyll drawe to the same, if he see you studie, he wyll study, if he se you peaslyble, he wyll be still: he seynge you temperate in fedynge, wyll eate but lttel: seynge you shamfast, he wyll feare you, seynge you restefulle, he wyll reste, and if ye doo contrary, he wyll do contrarye. This surely is true, for the auncient men onely with the euill that they se, eyther do they corrupte theyr bodyes, or sclauder theyr owne iugementes, as chyldeyn do, that can save nothyng but that they here: no: do nothyng but that they se. I wyll also that the prince my sonne lerne the. vii. attes lyberalle. For I haue taken many of you, to thentente that ye shulde teache hym moche. And if at the laste we shulde be sorowfull, bycause he hath not lerned all, we shall not be sorow, if he knowe moche, no: thynke his tyme yll spent, no: be beggled, in sayynge, that he knoweth inough of that so yonge a chylde shulde haue to gouerne and rule thempire. A very philosopher after the lawe of lygnage, oughte to haue speche at place and tyme conuenient, to fyght in the felde, and to speke in the senate. If myne owne remembrance begyle me not, amonge myne antiquities I haue brought a stone out of Grece, the whiche Pythagoras y philosopher helde

helde at the gates of his schole, wherein was wrytten with his owne handes, these wordes: He that knoweth not, that he ought to knowe, is a brute beaste amonge men: He that knoweth noo more, than he hath nede of, is a man amonge brute beastes: He that knoweth all, that may be knowne, is a god amonge men. O mooste highe wordes, Glorious is the hande that wrote them, the whiche not at the gates, as they were than, oughte to be wrytten, but within mens beastes they shoulde be paynted and grauen. Our forefathers toke the laste sentence of this philosopher, and the fyrste rebuke abyde to vs theyr last chylde. For certayne amonge the Greekes and Lacedemoniens was atteyned as moche fame by theyr philosophers and conquestes, as by theyr wrytinges, whiche they haue lefte vs. And our former emperours gatte no lesse loue in theyr empyre, by theyr profounde eloquence, thanne they feared all the worlde by theyr noble triumphes. For a profe wherof, behold Julius Cesar, whiche beinge in the myddell of his campe, with his lyfte hande wolde holde his speate, and his peune in his ryghte hande. As he neuer lefte of his armour, but forthewith he toke his booke. We muste not lapyrcuses, sayinge with them that be ignoraunte, that the lyberrall artes are to hie, and the tyme that we haue, verie shorte. For certayne the dyligence of men in tymes paste, reproueth our slouth at this day. One thyng I do se, that in a shorte whyle we letue all yll, but in a longe season we can not letue goodnesse. Wyl ye se, what is our fortunes and destenpes, and in what thoughte the goddes doo kepe vs, that for to doo one good dede we lacke tyme, and for to doo many synnedoours, we haue to moche tyme. I wyl say no more, but that I wolde, my chylde shulde be nourished in suche wyse, that he shoulde letue the feare of god, the science of philosophers, the vertues of aunciente Romanes,

mapnes, the quyetnes of you his mapsters, and the goodnesse of all theym that be good, as he hathe taken of me to be the heire of the empyre. I protest to the immortall goddis, to whom I truste for to go: and protest to the hghc capitoll, where my bones shall be brente, that neyther Rome nowe in my lyfe, nor the heuens in tyme to come shall curse me after my death, if by yll lpyunge my sonne shoulde lese the common welthe, yf by your small chastisement, ye shall be cause of the losse of the empire.

Howe the emperour Marcus nourished the princesses his daughters. Cap. x.

Marcus Aurelius the emperour hadde two sonnes, that is to wytte, the prynce Comode and Verissime: He hadde foure daughters by Faustine his wyfe, legitimate and heyres of the empyre. This emperour was exceeding diligent for to nourishe his daughters. As soone as any of them were borne, forthwith they were put to nours in to some ferme withoute Rome: He wolde neuer suffre any of his chyldrene, sonnes nor daughters, to be nourished within the walles of Rome: Nor consente, that they shoulde sucke the brestes of delicate womanne. He hated delicate and gaye nourses, and they that were laborous homely and holsome he loued, and to them and none other he betoke his chyldren to nourshe, and he wolde neuer agree, that they shoulde be brought home to his howse. He was wonte to say in his sportynge: I haue more adoo to content these nourses, than to marre my daughters. Homere shewethe, that in Greece there dyed Arthemio, that was kynge of Argiue, withoute any sonne to inheryte: and the nurse, that hadde nourished hym, with all

her myghte demanded the realme for a sonne of hers, whyche hadde sucked of the same mylke, that the sayde kynge had done, allegynge, that syth they were bothe nourysshed togyther, and sucked one mylke, that they bothe shulde inherite one realme. This sayde Homer, to reprove the noutyces of Grece, whiche toke more presumption for noutysynge of pryncis, than quenes dyd in bearynge of theym. Therfore this noble Marcus Aurelius emperour, wolde not that his daughters alonely shoulde sucke grosse and rude mylke, but he wolde not aggree, that any reuerence honour, or seruice shulde be doone vnto them, as it belongeth to the chyldren of so hyghe pryncis to be doone, and as the custome is to be doone. On a daye as the sayde emperour was at supper, a foole named Galindo, at whose wordes the emperour often toke pleasure, sayde, Syr yester daye I came from Salon, and fro the gate of Hostie, and there I sawe the emperours chyldren goo lyke labourers, and I see here in thy house labourers chyldren go lyke emperours: Telle me, why do ye dyssemble as a wyse manne, for I that am but a foole, vnderstandethe it not. The emperour answered: O Galindo, because that yett at this tyme, Rome is not Rome, all thoughe throughe all the worlde hit be renowned Rome. In my selfe I fynde farre more assuraunce, that my chyldren begynne lyke poore labourers, and ende as ryche emperoures, thanne to begynne as ryche emperours, and ende as poore squiers. Doest thou not knowe why Italy is nowe losse? They wolde haue theyr chyldren to be wantonly and delycatelpe noutysshed, and wyl not suffre theym to lyue in trauaile, and to leaue theyr heires poore and nedp, and theym selfe to ende in greatte peryll. This aunswere was so excellent in fame, that it was euer taken for a prouerbe in Rome.

Whan this emperoures daughters were of two yere olde,

f.ii.

incon-

incontinente he prouided womenne and maystresses for to
 teache them. Sextus Cherouense sayth, that he serched a-
 monge the auncient matrones of Rome, whiche were clea-
 nest of lyfe, mooste esteemed of good fame, of noblenesse of
 bloudde, of sadde wytte, and that had bene mooste vlsed in
 bringinge vp of princis chyldren. This emperour was so
 thoughtefull in the orderpge and teachpge of his chyl-
 dren, that he wolde haue noo woman, but if she were of .l.
 yere of age at the least, and .x. yere a wydowe, and that she
 hadde nourished a .c. chyldren, doughters of senatours.
 Imagininge, that she that had medled in so many thynges
 of other mens, shulde not be ignoraunt in her owne. After
 that he hadde prouyded these maystresses, he caused his
 doughters to be broughte to theyr houses, and there gaue
 them theyr charge. And from the birth of any of his dought-
 ers, he wolde neuer consent, that they shulde come into his
 palays, tyll they shulde haue husbandes. It chanced, that
 Faustine the emperesse chylded a doughter, and she beynge
 certified, that it was lyke her, and very faire, moued with
 a softe harte of womanheed, and with a motherly affection,
 prayed the emperour, that the sayde chyld mighte be nours-
 shed in her presence, sythe euery man sayde, the chyld was
 so fayre and so lyke vnto them. The emperour answered
 and sayde: Faustyne, for those thynges that all other haue
 sayde to you, dothe it beseme you, to demaunde this of me.
 But I that haue red in this case, and in other cases haue
 sene, in no maner I oughte to condiscende therto. Do you
 not knowe, that the tyme, that the doughter is nourished
 in the house, the father is charged with thoughte, the mo-
 ther with wantō flatteringes, enuy in the byetherne, bolde-
 nes in the doughter, and folp in the nouryce. I wolde wyt
 of you, if she were nourished in the house: what profyt-
 tethe it, if her maystresse teache her saddenesse and honestie
 with

with her wordes: and we entice her to lewdenes with our
 workes and dedes: what profiteth it, if the daughter de-
 serue chastysmente, and the mother flatter and make her
 wanton: Howe reason it were, that your daughter shoulde
 folowe the good doinges of you, that are her mother, than
 the wordes of the straunge wydowe, that is her maystres.
 Marke well faustyne, if ye oughte to reioyce at her chyl-
 dysh toys. Remembre, that the plesure of yonge chyl-
 dren, is but chyl-lysh trifles. But if you nouryshe them not
 well, as the pleasures were ioyfull whan they were yonge,
 so whan they be olde, to refrayne them, shall be greater dis-
 pleasure. Therefore, if you be vertuous, with drawe they
 iappynge trifles as now, for them that shall be vertuous.
 I wyl tell you one thyng, I wolde rather my daughters,
 in myne absence, shoulde be disciples to vertues, than to be
 maystresses in lewdenesse in my presence. And sythe it is so
 I desire you, requyre it not of me. And I despyre you, that it
 be not so. I am importune on you, that ye be not importu-
 nate on me. I pray you, that you pray not me. Ouels I cō-
 mande you, that you demande it no more of me. This hard
 aunswere of the father, ceased the importunitie and ptye-
 full request of the mother. Thus faustine, all fearefulle,
 seinge the father within the walles of Rome, durste not go
 se her daughter without, but as pxtuely as she myght.

Howe Marcus thempetour dyd chose and pro-
 ued his sonnes in lawe. Cap. xi.



LIKE VVISE AS MARCVS Aurelius the
 emperour surmounted in vertues all mortalle
 men, that dyed, soo for certayne in maryage of
 his daughters he semed to be kin to the goddes
 that euer lyue: by the grace and gyfte of god,

or by his fortune, he was as happpe in vertuose sonnes
 in lawe, as greattely infortunate of dyshonest daughters.
 After the deathe of the good olde manne, with the smalle
 thoughte of the prynce his sonne in his gouernaunce, and
 vngoodly fame of his daughters in theyr lyuynge, it se-
 med to haue made an ende of the gloriouse memoire of the
 father, but if it were by the soueraygne goodnesse of his
 sonnes in lawe, that he hadde chose by his lyfe tyme. It is
 dayely scene, that the losse of the father by euill chyldrene,
 is wonne by vertuous sonnes in lawe. Than Marcus
 Aurelius, in chosynge husbandes for his daughters, he
 toke not of dyuers, that the vanptrye of the worlde offered
 hym: but of a fewe, that of manye folkes were esteemed to
 be of good behauour, and that to his semynge were suche
 in dede. And as in matryages all the errout is to couete
 goodes that be in the pourse, and not to examyne the per-
 sonne that is broughte to the house, He regardynge this,
 marped not his daughters to straunge kynges, but to na-
 turall borne Senatours, not to suche as dyscended frome
 hyghe lygnage, as were the Sipions, Fabrycions, and
 Corquates: but to suche that with theyr vertues reysed
 newly good lygnages: No: he marped theym not to suche
 as were presumptuous of the prowes and dedes of theyr
 predecessours: but to theym that replendysched by the de-
 des of theyr owne personnes. No: of trouthe he chose none
 that were verytche, but suche as were vertuous: no: su-
 che as were soone moued, but suche as were quiete: not the
 hyghe mynded: but to the moderate, that were no boasters,
 but shamesfaste: noo bablers, but smalle speakers: no qua-
 rrellers, but sufferers: not to presumptuous, but to theym
 that were meke: not to haltye men, but to theym that were
 patient: not to theym that were esteemed amonge the com-
 mons, but vnto theym that deserued laude amonge wise
 men.

men. In this maner he trusted noo personne, for he marp-
 ed not his doughters to suche as were prapled a farre of:
 but to them that of longe tyme had ben proued nerehande.
 In good saythe herein his reason was good. For in the
 thyng that towecheth a mannes honour, he that is wyle
 oughte not to trust in the onely information of straungers:
 For he is not wyle, that is so hardy, to doo all thynges by
 his owne semyng and opynyon. And he is but a symple
 persone, that wpll do all thyng after the opinyon of stran-
 gers. And in these popntes the emperour Marcus hadde a
 good respecte to kepe them: In walkyng good teste, In
 speakyng great eloquence, in eatyng good temperaunce:
 In answeringe great subtiltie: In his sentences and deter-
 mynations great grauitie. And therfore in this case of ma-
 ryage he was full of grauitie, tpll he was therein determy-
 ned. And this onely came not of hym, but of other, whan
 they came to pray hym. It befell that in a feast of the god
 Janus, the emperour goinge to the campe of Mars, vp-
 pon a lusty hors fyers and flyngyng, he mette soo rudelye
 with a trumpettour, that coursed as a knight vpon a hors,
 that with the stroke of metyng, the trumpettour was ouer-
 thowen with his horse, soo that he was slayne, and them-
 perours hors legge broken, and his owne foote hurte, and
 his arme out of ioynte. So greattely encreaced his hurte,
 that he was in perylle, Italpe in heupnesse, and all Rome
 was in doubte of his lyfe. And bycause a fewe dayes afore
 that, he had communicacion of a maryage for his thyrde
 doughter, named Mattina, for the determination that he
 shulde haue made the same daye, great suite was made to
 hym. But for the great peyne of his arme, and the bloude
 that was congeled in his bodye, and the anguysshe that
 was at his harte, as for the demaunde that was offered
 hym, he dyfferred the aunswere tpll an nother daye.

The

The whiche day commien, in open p[re]sence he sayde in this manier.

What the emperour Marcus sayde to the father of a yonge man that wolde marrie one of his daughters. Cap. xii.



fentymes I haue sene in other, and haue proued by experience, that the smalle consyderation passed, and the greate acceleration in busynesses nowe p[re]sent, maketh great inconueniences in tyme to come, onles that at that point the thyng be comytted to the vertue of some wyse person, rather than to his owne sole opinion. Neuer the lesse in the case of mariage, though the father be wise, yet without the opinion of an other, he ought not to determyne hym lyghtly: for enuyous fortune, though she shewe her selfe somewhat frowarde in all thynges, yet in this case of mariage, she ouerthroweth more than in all the other. He that wyll speake of marpage, oughte to entre into his owne secretnes, and to thynke profoundly thereon, as of a thyng that all his welthe lyeth in, his credence, his lyfe, his honour, his good fame, the reste of his owne personne, and his fleshe, whiche is his chyld. I am of opinion, that if all wyse men were molten in a founaynes, they coulde not geue one good counsell to make a mariage: And wolde ye that I, whiche am simple, shuld do it lyghtly by my selfe: Cruelly therein behoueth tyme and sadde counsell. For ones fallen into the peryll therof, none may haue remedye withoute greatter perille. The renowned Marcus Porcius, whose luyng was a myxtout in his dayes, and his wordes and counsels remayne for a remembraunce, sayd openly in the senate: O noble fathers and happy people, by the

Decc ecc

decrees openly proclaymed in places accustomed, I know that in a counsel and senate ye ordeyned thre thinges, that is, ye vndertoke to make a newe warre agaynst the Parthes, to continue the enmitie agaynst the Veniens, and to marie. v. hundred matrones of Rome, to . v . C. knyghtes of Mauritanie. And certaynely I am abashed, that amonge wyse men so hygh assayres shulde be so soone and sodaynely concluded and determined. To satisfie myn vnderstandynge, and for the good wyll that I owe to the countrey, I shall saye one worde, that is, to begyn warre and to pursue hatred and yll wyll, and to conclude mariages, In these causes a man ought to aske counsell of all the men of the worlde, and al the goddis ought to correcte and amende it, And. x. M. counsaylynges wolde be holden vpon eche of these thynge. These wordes were worthy of great recommendation. For one thynge by dyuers opinions ought to be determyned: But many thinges by one opinion oughte not to be determyned. And if this be for all thinges, it serueth then most specially in mariages. My frendes, ye say, that he that offreth him to be my sonne in lawe, is greatly despyred loued and wel named amonge the common people. To sell suche marchandise, let it not in so yll a shewe. The credence of an honest manne lyeth not amonge the common voyce of the people, but amonge philosophers: not amonge many, but amonge fewe: not amonge howe many, but what they be. ye know your selfe that at this houre all that the commons thynke is but a bayne thynge: that they prayse is false: that they condempne is good, that they approue, is nought, that they allowe is shamefull: and finally al that they laude, is but folpe. They praylinge beginneth with lyghtnes, their folowynge without order, and it endeth with furie. O how many haue I sene in Italpe lyke the lies of wyne cast out
G of the

of the senate, and after put as fyre byndes of tauernes in Rome, by whole opinions the comon welth is gouerned, and with great lyghtnes men put downe, and with no les lyghtnes exalted agayne. Beholde here, that the workes of the people are holden in mockage with wyse men: and that that is agreed amonge theym, is esteemed but for vanities with wise men: for that that is meale with philosophers, is eaten but for byanne and chaf with symple folk: and contrarve wise the meale of the symple, is but byanne & chaffe amonge wise men: Of all that our predecessours haue syfted, in these dayes the chyldren of vanytye worke thereafter, for they wyl be despyred, and hate to be hated. All suche holdeth a generall rule, that euery man that desyeth to be beloued of euery man openlye, can not escape fro dyuers secreete fautes. Shall I tel you who is best beloued nowe adayes? Then harken to me, and I wyl tell you, as moch as it toucheth, to whom it may touch, hurte who it may hurte, fele it who that may fele it. The people loueth hym, that can dissimule with them, that be nought, and enuious of theym that be good, and suche as fauout lyers and setteth trouth asyde, and suche as accompanieth with mankyllers and murtherers, and to be scrud of theues, and fauoureth quarellers, and pursueth suche as be peasible, delyuere the offenders, and flecthe innocentes, renometh them that be Shamefull, and shameth them that be of good fame: finally he his most set by, & putteth them that be good fro hym, and is the most bayne among them that be bayne. Certaynely there is greate suspicion to set hym amonge wyse men, that is allowed of all foles. And the reason therof is, that the commons lyghtly loue none but men that with malpce refrayneth them that be vertuous, and letteth the rayne slyppe to them that be vicious. Truly wyse men haue hym as suspect that the commons

Desire,

desyre, whiche wyl not be displeased with his y^el doinges.
 O howe often tymes doth the goddis permytte the ambi-
 cious man in honours, that procureth to do yll many daies
 without Justice, and doth not beholde the sodayne hole
 losse therof with shame? Than take this worde of me, that
 in the multitude of men there are fewe to be prayesed, and
 many to be repyeued.

Howe a son in lawe oughte to be wel examined er he be
 accepted to his purpose. ca. xiii.



Owe to come to our particular purpose, ye a-
 monge you do prayse this yonge man, and yf
 his werkes be as your wordes, ye shoulde not
 onely say, that he hath merited to be my sonne
 in lawe, but rather meriteth to be onely inhe-
 ritour of the hole empire. And therfore I wolde wytte of
 you, wherof you can praise this your kynseman, that ther
 be no contrarytie betwene his werkes and your wordes.
 If he be rusticall, it abateth hym soze: if he be of hyghe
 blode, he wyl be presumptuous: if he be ryche, he wylle
 gyue hym to viciousnes: if he be poze, he wyl be couetous:
 if he be valiant, he wyl be ouerbolde: yf he be a coward
 he is defamed: if he be a greate speaker, he shall be a lyer:
 if he be to lyttelle a speaker, he shall be noted as vnwyse:
 yf he be faire, he wylle be coueted: if he be foule, he wylle
 be ielous. Than if he be quite of all these, I swere to you
 that I wyl gyue hym my doughter Marryne with all my
 hart. I do not say this vnto you, bicause I suppose any y^el
 in your kynsgman: but to thentent that ye shulde thynke,
 that I say it accordynge to my naturalite. And than sythe
 I say it not agaynst your credence, for the knowelege that
 ye haue of him, mistake not my suspicion, sith that I am
 G.ii. hole

hole ignorant of this yonge mans lyfynge. And I wyl
 not, that ye shulde thynke, that the chyld my doughter,
 that hath ben brought vp in so great vertu in my palays,
 shulde be married to this yong man for the only fame that
 he hath amonge the people. O howe often haue I sene in
 our tyme nowe, and haue redde of the worlde passed, the
 whiche as nowe by commandement of the goddis, at an
 other tyme by theyr yll workes haue deserued hit, at an o-
 ther tyme by theyr sorowfull destenies haue permitted it,
 wenyng for to bynge sonnes in lawe in to theyr howse,
 haue brought in a hell: In stede of wise and faire dought-
 ers, haue recouered adders: In sekynge sonnes, haue
 founde basilicke serpentis: In bynge of blouddde, pop-
 son delyuered: In sekynge frendes, they haue founde en-
 nemys: In demaundyng honour, shame hath be gyuen:
 and finally in marienge theyr chyldren, wenyng to haue
 lyued merly, the sorowfull fathers haue had euille lyfe
 and a woys dethe. And in case that suche ought to be mo-
 ued moze of them that be ioyous, than they that ben sorow-
 ful of them that bene ioyous: as well oughte we to approue
 the iuste chastisement of the iuste goddes, by the vniuste
 workes done to iuste men. For he deserueth great chastise-
 ment, that with ferefull hardynes as a foole determyneth
 hym selfe in hygh and difficult thinges with sodayn coun-
 sell. And therfore my frendes, if ye be vertuous, be not a-
 bashed of that that I saye, nor take the examination that
 I make in a slaunder: If I take this yonge man to be
 my sonne, to be sonne in lawe to Faustyne my wyfe, hus-
 bande to my doughter Marryne, broder to Commodus the
 prince, felowe to them of the senate, kynsman to my kings
 folke, and lord of my seruantes: It is reason, that suche
 a robe oughte well to be regarded, syth that so many per-
 sons muste weape the lyuetyng therof. The garmente that

so many persons must weate, muste be wylsely cut, to content them all. We se naturally many thynges noyfulle to vs, if it be nere vs, and yet not damageable to vs ferre of. The sonne with his shynynge beames dothe parche the flesshe of the people of Ethiope, bycause hit is nere vnto theym: and contrary wylse it dooth noo grefe to theyr persons that inhabyte in the ende of Europe: for bycause hit toucheth theym a ferre of. There haue bene dyuers sonnes of Rome, whiche beyng in straunge countreys, haue done greate profite to the common welthe, and no lesse famed throughout the worlde, whiche after they were returned to theyr owne houses, haue spylte moze bloudde of innocentes, than they had done before of the Barbariens. And that it is sothe demaunde of Julius Cesar, of Pompeius, of Sylla, of Marius, of Cassius, of Catilina, and of Lypulus, of Octavius, and Marcus Anthonius, of Caligula and of Nero, of Othus and Domitianus. And as I saye of soo small a nombze of bastarde chyldzen that helde Rome, I maye saye of dyuers other tyrauntes broughte vppe in Italpe. Beleue me in one thyng, All that is agreable to vs abrode, agree the not to vs yf we bynge them in to the howse. For there goth many thynges betwene the entreatynge of a man in wordes, and to be longe conuersant with hym in workes. Lyttell nedeth humayne ignozance for to begyle an other, and yet lesse to be begyled of many an other. With a meke visage, swete wordes in the tongue, good delyberation in the persone, temperance in the worde, euery one may begyle an other nowe adayes: and by Myreudenes and malycie, is begyled hym selfe. I say to you, I betynge a yonge man knewe the famous oratour Caurin propose dyuers tymes in the senate: And on a day he spake for a Romayn matron, which shulde haue maryed an honest doughter of hers to a may-

ster of horses, by semynge a Romayne, and not very well
 appoynted: And amonge other wordes he sayde: O no-
 ble fathers, O happy people, commande not that thyng
 that afterwarde ye wolde were not commaunded: An yll
 mariage is lyke as he that shoteth a pellet of duste, it hur-
 teth hym that it toucheth, and blyndeth them that stande
 nexte. Sothelye these were hie wordes, and the compari-
 son well vnderstonen, conteyneth in it sentences of gra-
 uitie. It is manifest to all men, that an ylle sonne in la we
 is the deathe of the wyfe that hath hym, shame to the fren-
 des that procured it, and at the laste an yll ende for hym
 selfe, and for his father that offered it. Thanne by all these
 thynges that I haue sayde, ye may vnderstonde what I
 thinke in this mariage. His saynges thus ended, the Se-
 nate was greatly edified therewith, and the knyghtes,
 kynsfolke to this yonge man, grately abashed: and Fau-
 stin the emperesse sore confused, for by her introduction, the
 matter was moued, & howe this mariage fayled, the histo-
 riens write not, whom we haue folowed in, this werke.

Now Marke the emperor fauored al noble exercises, and
 hated trewandes and fooles. ca. xiiii.



The vertues of this good emperor, and the
 knowlege of sciences, the worthines in armes,
 and the purenes of his lyfynge, caused hym
 to be named among the famous me of Rome.
 The gentylle conuersation that he had with euerye man,
 made hym to be renowned amonge the worthiest of all
 the worlde, the thinge mooste agreable without repzehen-
 tion of the greatest, meane, and leaste is, that a lord and
 pryncce of many, to be communicable and conuersant with
 many. All the good werkes of good men may be condem-
 ned

well and with the yll intentions of them that be ylle: But the
 no: good condicions haue such a priuilege, that of yll the good
 nge is prayfed, and the good approueth the yll. In a mans ly-
 a yll ynge there is none so great a byce, but by good conuerfa-
 our: tion it is couered and hid: And contrary wise no cryme is
 nde secrete, but with yll conuerfation, at the tyme that it hur-
 ari: teth it is moze openly knowen. Of two extremities hit is
 tra: not so greuous to the common welthe, a man to be weake
 we and faynt in secretenes, & of gentyll conuerfation abroad,
 ren as it is of hym that is secrete, and is rude and of yll con-
 ym uerfation opely. Dyuers not being of good order & poly-
 efe tie, we haue fene couerfant a gret whyle in Rome, only for
 t beinge wel conditioned. And many mo we haue fene, that
 He in a fhozte whyle after they were put in office, haue ben so
 es, proude and haftey in theyr condicions, that they haue bene
 au deprivied from theyr offices. And this we fay bycaufe this
 he good emperour was fo ioyous of vifage, soo ampyable in
 to: his customes, soo louynge in his conuerfation, that lyght-
 ly he wolde cafte his armes aboute the necke and on the
 nd foulders of them, and take them by the handes, that had
 any thinge to doo with him. The porters fhulde not lette
 them that wolde accompany hym in the palays: no: his
 garde was not fo hardy to put a backe fuch as wold fpeke
 with hym in the felde. In all his aeges he applyed to
 he that that euery age gaue hym by nature: He was a childe
 s, amonge children: yonge amonge yonge folkes: worldely
 m with them that were worldly: good felowe with good fe-
 l: lowes: A baron among barons: Hardy with hardy men:
 and finallie olde with olde menne. He was wonte to faye,
 n, whan any in his prefence that were yonge and not welle
 ll taught in their language, gefted at the debilitie of aege,
 o: or olde me at the folp of youth: Leauethem fith they leue
 pou. Many tymes of wife yonge men cometh olde foles:
 And

And of yonge fooles customably cometh wise olde men.
 Naturalyte at the laste maketh all thyng in kynde. As of
 greatte debilitie we canne drawe but smalle strengthe, by
 our naturalitie we may for a tyme resiste it, but not utter-
 ly mayster it. I am soze abashed that some that wyll be so
 lordely and valiant in vertues, and so hygh mynded, that
 they wyll make vs beleue, that they lyuinge in the fleshe,
 & beinge of fleshe, onely fele not the fleshe. I can not telle,
 yf nature hath made other of an other nature than I am
 of, or me of an other nature thanne other be, for I beinge
 neuer so faste inclosed in the swete conuersation of philo-
 sophy, yea in the beste tyme, this false fleshe wolde calle
 atte the gate with his noughtye fleshe. The more that
 we reyse and exalte vs with science and gette lyberties,
 the more lower we doo putte the fleshe with her mys-
 ries. Beleue me one thyng, that if a tree beareth not in
 bymetyme his flowers, we hope not to haue the fruite
 in harueste ripe: and a yonge man that hath not passed
 his youthe with yonge people, we haue noo hope that he
 shulde passe is age with olde men. And as we may resyste
 our naturalitie and not cleane to fordoe it, those fathers
 erre, that are so extremely affectioned, to haue theyr chyl-
 dren to begynne as olde men, wherupon it foloweth, that
 they ende as yonge. This emperour was soo wyse in all
 thynges, that amonge them that were merve, he was of
 great myrthe: And in verities he was very veritable: In
 his pastimes he was greattely temperate, and a louer of
 musike, specially in good voyce and instrumentes, and
 sooze displeased if he harde any disorde therein. He pas-
 sed most of his youthe in lernynge of sciences. Whan he
 came to mannes state, he exercised feates of knyghthode:
 he loued disciplyne and not of adulation. He was apt and
 happye in armes, but yet in rydinge of horses he hadde
 ofte

ofte tymes p'll hadde. In his yonge age he deliſted to play
 at the tennys, and at the cheſſe in his auge. He loued not
 theſe counterſaytyng playes of farces and mummeries,
 and yet leſſe trewandes, that bene natural fooles, iuglers,
 and geſters for pleaſure. The playes and geſters ſuffered
 great varietie in the empire, accordyng to the diuerſitie
 of emperours. Julius Ceſar ſuſteyned theym, Octavian
 his newe droue theym away, Caligula called theym a-
 gayne, Cruell Nero baniſhed them, Nerua made theym
 come agayne, Good Traian baniſhed them out of al Ita-
 ly, Anthony Pius brought theym in agayne: And by the
 handes of this good emperour Marcus Aurelius, they
 ended. And the occaſion was, the Romayns dyd celebrate
 with great ioye, the .iiii. day of May, the great feaſte of the
 mother Berecynte, mother of all the goddis. The ſacred
 prieſtes flamines diales, wold haue brought thither theſe
 mynſtelles iuglers and geſters, for to reioyce the feaſte,
 and contrarie wyſe the holy nunnas veſtales wolde haue
 done the ſame, ſo that variance felle betwene theym, ſome
 with force, and ſometime with reſiſtence, and ſome canne thi-
 der in fauourynge of bothe parties, and not a fewe, to de-
 parte theym. The cruell and greates noyſe of ſlaughter a-
 monge them, was ſuche, that it tourned the feaſte to we-
 ppynges, the pleaſures into ſorowes, and theyr ſonges in-
 to waylynges. This good emperour laboured to pleaſe
 this furie of the people, and to ſette peace among the ney-
 bours of Rome. When all was done, he made curious di-
 ligence to ſerche out all the playes, iuglers, and ieſtours
 of Rome, and in all the circuite of Italy, that they might
 be chaſtiſed, and Rome deliuered of them. And for exam-
 ple of all the worlde, he ſente theym to the gate of Hoſtie,
 and commaunded to ſette them in Galies, and to baniſhe
 them for euer, into the yles of Hellſpout: whiche was ac-

complyshed, as the emperour commaunded. And fro that daye, was neuer sene at Rome, iuglet nor iester, as longe as the emperour lyued. But it passed not two yeres after his deathe, but they retourned, whan his sonne hadde the rule. And excepte the booke doo lye, there was in Rome greatter nombze of fooles than of wyse men.

Of the good conuersation of this emperour
 Marcus Aurelius. Cap. xv.



We haue sayd of the hatred that this emperour had to trewandes, reuelers, getters, iuglers, gesters, and suche other: Nowe wyl we speke of his laudable exercyses of them that came to hym. To be welles condicioned, the malysce of mankynde is so great, that as good men are bounde to regard the yll, so do they that be yll, regarde to dystroy the good. The trace of vertu is as good in good thingis, with them y be good, as the vice & dishonestie of euill folkes, is in euill thinges. What greatter corruption in this worlde may be, than a vertuous persone, for one worke of vertue, can not fynde one to helpe hym to worke it, and whan he alone hath wroughte it, there cometh tenne thousande to gaynsaye hym: The greattest goodnes of all goodnes is, whan tyrannies are putte vnder by vertues acqwyred: or to fynde remedye agaynst accustomed vyces, with good inclynations. And the greattest euill of all euils, is whan a persone forgetteth that he is a manne, puttyng reason vnder fote, strapnyng his hande agaynst vertue, and letteth vice rule the bydell. This emperour Mar. Aurel. stepped in his lyfe great glozie, in the eschewyng the villany of byllaynes: no lesse merited he immortall memozye, in sufferynge dyuers dyshonesties in the execution of his
 ver-

vertues. An vnfallible reule hit is, amonge the chyldren of vanitie, to chylde the vices of theym that be vycious. And the vertues welles incorporate, nourshe many enuious. They that be ylle, benne allwayes double ylle, because they beare armour defensiu, to defende theyr owne puelles: and armes offensyue to assaile the good manners of other. The trowthe is, if good menne be dyspente to seke other that be good, no lesse oughte they for to hyde theym from theym that be ylle: for a good manne with one synger, hath power ouer all theym that be vertuous, but for to withstande one ylle personne, he hath nede of handes feete and frendes. And though fortune be ylle to good menne, theyr owne propre fame shall be spent as of straungiers. This good emperoure was stronge in vertue, meeke in wordes, attemperate in his exercyses, homely with euery manne, sadde amonge sadde men, hasty amonge hasty men, mercy with mercy men, and wise amonge wyle men, as it is conuenable for a curyous prince to be. And whan these are approued in the lawe of good men, by clere vnderstandynge, as well shall they be condempned by theym that haue yll intencions. Channe as the cooles canne not be in the embres without sparkis, nor corruption of the cation withoute stench: no moze can he that hath a hole and clere herte be, without infor syng hym to vtter lounge wordes: And he that hath an ylle harte, alwayes ouercommeth other with wordes of malice. For it is certayne, for a small season the louer maye abstepne his loue, and yette lesse tyme the payne of hym, that is payned with loue hydde. The sorowfulle syghes, shewe the hurte of the harte, and the malicious wordes discouer the yll of the harte. We haue sayde all this, because that the bountie of this good Emperoure Marcus Aurelius set all his ioy and gladnes in them that were good.

and bewayled them that were pille. And as in semblable thynges, the worthy men shewe their worthynes, and wise men their wysedome, beinge vertuous in workyng, and wise in knowlegynge, were very wise in dissimulynge. One of the vertues, that a wyle man ought to haue (wherin he shall be known as wyle) is that he can suffre well. For a man y can suffre well, was neuer but wyle & wel manerd, and therwith to suffre the vertue of yll busines, is a thing reasonable, of all reasonable beastis, and of them that be good, very good. And by contrarpe wise, the man that can not well suffre, though it be in very iuste thynges, hopeth not to be welle treated. And lyke wise as this Emperoure Marcus in all vertues, hath ben egall with all the emperours of Rome, that haue benne, In this vertue of sufferance, he hath surmounted all them of the world. He was wont to saue many tymes, I haue not attayned to the empire, by the sciēces that I haue lerned of the philosophers, but by the pacience, that I haue had with them that were frowarde and not lerned. And this seemeth to be true: for oftentymes this Emperour, beyng with the Senate at Collisee, or the Senate with hym in the hygh Capytolle, he seynge in his presence dyuers that prayled hym, and other, that in his absence amonge the people blamed hym, and rebuked hym, his attemperance yet was soo greatte, and shewed him selfe so iuste with one and other, that neyther his frendes, that agreed with him, were sorrowful, nor his ennemtes, for any disfauour, went away complapning and angre.

Of the feast that the Romaynes keppe to the god
 Iano in Rome, and what chaunced to the
 sayde emperour there. Cap. xvi.

Amonge



Amonge the sollemne feastes, þ the auncient
 Romaynes had indented, was one of the
 god Janus, kept the fyrst day of the yere,
 whiche as now is the fyrste day of Jani-
 uer: He was paynted with two faces, to
 shewe, that it was the laste daye of the yere
 passed, and the begynnynge of the newe yere. To this god
 was dedicate a sumptuous temple in Rome, which temple
 Numā Pompilius, called it the temple of peace. And except
 the temple of Jupiter, it was holden in most reuerence of
 all other. Whan the Romayn emperours went or came to
 Rome, to bysite the high capitoll, and the bestall byrgins,
 forthwith they wente to praye, worshyp, and to offere at the
 temple of Janus. The day of celebration of the sayd feast,
 all Rome reioyced, and put on them the beste clothes that
 they hadde, brennyng great lychtes in euerye hous, and
 made many playes of interludes, of gesses and iuglyng, &
 watched all nyght in the temples, & deliuered al the pris-
 oners that were in prison for dette, & payde the debtes with
 the common treasour. They had tables with meate before
 their doores, in such haboundance, that moze was left thā
 eaten, wherewith all the pooze folkes in Rome were rele-
 ued. The Romayns thought, that what so euer they spent
 that daye, that the god Jano (whiche was god of tymes)
 wolde rewarde them double. The Romaynes sayde, that
 this god Janus was not vnkynde nor no nygarde, for yf
 they spent a lyttell, he wolde recompence theym with a
 great deale. At this feast was made greate processions,
 euery sorte of people by them selfe, the senate went apart,
 the prestes aparte, The Censores aparte, the Plebeyens
 aparte, The matrones and ponge maydens by them selfe,
 and the ambassadours went in procession with al the cap-
 tiues and prisoners. Thus they wente euer two and two:

the ende of one company, was the beginning of an other. And thus out of the temple of Janus, they wente aboute all the temples of Rome, and soo out of Dozte latine into the fieldes, and rounde about the walles of Rome. And bycause the circuite of Rome was greatte, the processions went but from one gate to an other, so that towarde night all the processions of Rome had gone euerychone in theyr company aboute: And that done, they retourned all into the temple, that they came out of, and there offered echeone as they myght. And in the sayde processions it was of custome, that the emperours went accompanied with the senators: but this good emperour was soo famplier, that he wolde honour and accompany euery man. It was accustomed in Rome, that the sayde day the emperour shulde weare on his robe, and mantelle imperiall. And all prisoners and captiues that myght touch hym with their hande, were deliuered, & al trespassours were pardoned, and banished folke were forgiven, and called agayn. And this emperour to vse his clemency, and to leaue after hym perpetuall memorie, lest the procession of senators, and without any gard, went the procession with prisoners and captiues. The whiche doinge, was occasion to leaue behynde hym perpetuall memory of hym selfe, and greate example of clemencie and lowpnes to princes for to come. Howe be it there is nothyng so well done of them that be good, but forthwith it shalbe contraried of them that be ill: And therfore this example was soo moche dysprayed of them that were ill, as prayed and allowed of them that were good. And in likewise as among them that be good, there is one noted to be pure good, so amonge them that be ill, there is one noted to be right ill. And that worse is, that the vertuous person esteimeth not the glorie of his vertue so great, as the malicious person by his malice is shamed.

This

This is sayde, bycause there was a senatour in the senate, named Fulvius, whiche was as blacke by his malpce, as whyte by his heates. He laboured sooze in the dapes of Adrian to haue ben emperour, and had Marcus always as competitour. And as it is a naturall thyng to theym that haue pll hartes, to shewe theyr malpce in smal thynges, so this emperour dyd neuer no good thyng openly, but this Fulvius wolde grudge therat secretely. And though this emperour was greatly praysed fo; the delpuerynge of prisoners, yet the sayd senatour coude not haue the prudence fo; to suffre it, and so part in mockery, and part in erneste, he sayd these wordes to the emperour in the senate: Why gyeuest thou thy selfe to all men?

Howe Marcus the emperour answered a senatour in the senate. Cap. xvi.



He emperour Marcus Aut hering what the senato; had said to him, in the psence of the senators, y is to wite, wherfoze he gaue him to all men, He answered, frende, I giue me to all men, bycause all men giue them co me, and are glad of me. Beleue me, that ouer great rigour in a prince, causeth hatred of the people. The goddis wyll not, no; the lawes permit not, no; the agreement of the comon welthe wyll not suffre, y princis be lordes ouer many, & to accompany but with a fewe. I haue redde in booke, & haue proued it by my selfe, that the loue of subiectes, the suretie of the prince, the dignitie of the empire, and the honour of the Senate, do conserue the prince, not with rigour, but with gentyll conuersation. The fysher goth not to take dyuers fyshes of the riuer with one baite, no; y mariner with one nette entreth into the see. I promyse you the depenesse of
good

good wylls ought to be wonne with the depenelle of the
 harte, some with gyftes, some with wordes, some with pro
 myses, and some with fauours. The insatiate couetous
 men are neuer content, no: wyll open their affection, but
 locke vp their treasours. And such as serueth for loue, ac
 lesse content with openyng of their treasure, than locking
 vp their wylls. It is an olde prouerbe of Pythagoras:
 Loue is payd with other loue. O how pl fortune it is to a
 prince, & how unhapp it is to a comon welth, whā p peo
 ple serue not their lordes, but for rewardes, & the lordes to
 kepe & mayntayne them, but for their seruice. With diuers
 stones and one ciment, buyldyng is reysed, and of diuers
 men, and one lord, is composed a common welthe. And if
 geometrie begile me not, the mortar that ioyneeth one stone
 with an other, ought to be medled with sande and flecked
 lyme by reson. Separate the stones, and the wal openeth,
 and let the cymment fayle, and the edifice falleth. He that is
 wyse, may well vnderstande me. Loue betwene neighbours
 suffereth to be mitigate with water: but hit is requysite,
 that the loue of the prince and his people be pure. Dy
 uers trowbles, and atte dyuers tymes, I haue seene a
 mong the common people of Rome in one day moued and
 appeased: but ong discorde, reysed betwene the lord and
 the common welthe, vnto the death, is neuer accorded. It
 is a difficile thinge, to make appoyntment of many with
 many, and moze difficile, to accorde one with an other.
 But without comparison, moze harder it is, to appoynt di
 uers with one, than one with dyuers. And in this case I
 wyl not saue the prince, no: leue the people vncōdēpned.
 Fro whens (as ye thynk) cometh it now adays, that lord is
 with annoyance commaunde vniuste thinges, and in iust
 thinges the subiectes are vnohediente. Nowe heere me, &
 I shall tell you. The prince doinge a thyng in dede, and

not of right, wyl confounde the wyl of euery manne, and beleue his owne vnderstandynge, and dyawe of hym selfe and all other his only wyl. Contrary wyse, the multitude of the people dyspraysynge theyr lordes vnderstandynge, do as they wyl: not as all wyl, but as euery manne desy-
reth hym selfe. Of trowth it is a greuous thing, although it be greatly accustomed, to wyl, that all gounes shulde be mete for one man, and that one mans harneis shuld be mete to arme all men. Than what shall we do, that our fa-
thers haue lefte thus in the world, & also we holde that we be theyr chyldren, and that worse is, we leaue the same to our heires? O howe many princis of my predecessours, I haue redde of, that haue bene losse in theyr wylle them selfe ouer straunge, and beloued of none? I wyl tell you of somme of them for exammples, that I haue redde in my bookes, to thintent that princis maye se what they wyne by amiable conuersation, and what they lose by ouer moch straungenes. In the realme of Assiens, greater in armes than the Caldrens, and lesse in aduantage and antiquitie than the Assiriens: One maner forme of kynges endured amonge them. CC. and. xx. yeres, by reason they were of lowable conuersation. And an other fourme and maner (as Homer sayth) lasted but. xl. yeres, because their kinges were of an yll condition. And the. ix. Epiphanes of the Egypciens was vnnombred and put downe, bycause there was a lawe that echone shulde be bare legged in the temples vppon the holy dayes. And this kyng on a day riding came befoze the god Apis, god of the Egypciens, the whiche thyng was not suffered, for besyde that he was put out of his realme, he was chastised. Also the. vi. Arfacidauel the inuincible kyng of Parthes, not onely was depriued, but also banyshe out of his realme, bycause he dynd at a knyghtes bydale, and wolde not eate at the bydale of a
I communer

comuner. yet also though the realme of Italy was scant, they hartes were greater: for because one of they, Marcanes, for so were they kynges called, had sette his gates by nyghte, for to slepe the suretyer, he was depriued of his realme: because a lawe was made, that noo prince shulde sette his gates nyght nor day: for they sayde, they had made him kyng for to dyue awaye they ennemys, and not to be daintily nourished. Tarquine the laste kyng of the Romayns was unkynde to his father in lawe, defamed his blod and kynrede, was a traytour to his countrey, cruell of his persone, and aduoutter with Lucrece: but for all that he was not called vngentyll, nor infamed, nor traytour, nor cruell, nor aduoutter, but he was named Tarquine the proude, because he was of yll condicions and complexions. And yet by the lawe of good inenne, I swere to you, that yf the sayd unhappy Tarquine had had good wyll in Rome, for the aduoutry of Lucrece he hadde not be put out of his realme, for as moche as othet greater and more greuous harmes hadde benne doone before his tyme, and also moche worse sithen by aged emperours in the empyre, the whiche crimes by theym comyncted were suche, that the offence of this frayle yonge man was but small in estimation. For thyng certayne these princes holde, that yf they gyue dyuers occasyons for they yll wyll, yet a lyttell thyng suffyseth yf he shewe, that the hate that he hath is for none yll wyll: but the hate that the subiecte hath to the lord, because he hath no power.

C Julius Cesar, the laste dictatour and fyrste emperour, because he forgate to be a man among men, but thyngkyng to be a god amonge goddis, bepyge a lawdable custome, that the senate shulde salute the emperour on their knees, and the emperour to ryse courtesly agaynst them: because of a presumptuous mind, he wold not kepe the cere-

monie, he merited to lese his lyfe with .xxiii. strokes of pen-
knives. And as I saye of these so seue a nombre, I maye
saye of many other. The phisitions with a lyttell Rubarbe
purge many humours of the body, and the emperour with
a lyttell beneuolence taketh many greues fro the stomakes
of his subiectes. The people owe obedience to the pryncce,
and to do his person great reuerence, and fulfyll his com-
maundementes, and the pryncce oweth egall iustice to eue-
ry man, and meke conuersation to all men.

Marcus Porcius sayde dyuers tymes in Rome: That
the publycke welthe is there perpetuall and without any
sodayne falle, where the pryncce fyndethe obedience, and
all the people fyndethe loue with the pryncce. For of the
loue of the lord, bredeth the good obedyence of the sub-
iecte, and of the obedience of the subiecte bredeth the good
loue of the lord. The emperour of Rome is lyke to a spy-
der that is in the myddes of her webbe. For yf the sayde
coppie webbe be touched with the poynte of a nedell, forth-
with the spyder feleth hit. I meane that all the werkes of
the emperour in Rome benne streyghte waye knowen in
all the erthe. I beleue that this daye I haue bene iudged
of humayne malice, for accompanyege the processyon
of the captiues, and that I suffredde theym to toweche
me, that they myghte enioy the prauiledge of libertie.

I pelde and gyue great graces to my goddes of my good
happe, bycause they haue made me pitifull for to deliuer
prysoners, and not cruel as a tyraunte for to make theym
bondage that be free. The prouerbe sayth: One snare maye
take two byrdes: So it hath ben this daye, for that bene-
fite rebounded onely to the miserabell prysoners, but the
sauiour, to all theyr nations. And doo ye not knowe that
by the takynge away of theyr prynces, I haue drawen to me
the hartes of all theyr realmes and countreys: Finally

hit is moze sure to a pzince to be serued with free hartes,
and loue of them that be at lybertie, than of subiectes con-
streynd with feare.

Howe the emperor Marcus deuoyded the howres of the
daye for the busynesses of the empire. Ca. xviii.



Ere before we haue shewyd howe this good
emperor had great hatredte of men & were
of yll luyng, & that passed theyr tyme in yll
exercyse. It suffiseth not the philosopher to
repreue the vice of other by wordes, but it is
necessary that he do the werkis that he requyrez other to
do: It is reason nowe to shewe, how this emperor by his
great prudence compassed & dispatched the great and huge
busynesses of the empyre, the particularities of his house-
holde, the recreation of his persone, theretofore of his stu-
dies, the infinite reasonynge with one and other, with su-
che payne takynge, and in so shorte tyme. He was soo apte
and well aduysed, that by hym there was no tyme yll spent.
Nor neuer fayled to dispatche the besynes of the empyre.
And bycause the tyme is glorious of hym that gloriously
spendeth it, and the tyme is accursed, that to our damage
and without profyte to other passeth, leauynge vs ignorant
as brute beastes: He departed the tyme by times, the order
wherof was thus. Seuen howres he slepte in the nyghte,
and rested one howre in the daye: At dyner and supper he
wasted but onely two howres: he deputed two howres for
the matters of Asia: Other two howres for the busynesse
of Europe and Affrike: and in conuersation of his house,
and with his wyfe and chyldren seruantes and frendes that
came to se hym, he spente other two howres: And for the
outwarde besynesse, as to here the complayntes of them
that

that were greued. The sypres of pooze men wantynge in-
 styce, the wydowes, the roberpes of pyckers, of mychers;
 and vacabosides, he deputed an other houre. All the reste
 of the daye and nyght in redyng of bokes, to wryte workes
 to make metres, to studie antyquities, to practyse with
 wise men, to dyspute among philosophers, he passed thus
 ordynately in wynter: And in sommer yf cruell warres let-
 ted hym not, or that he were troubled with great and hay-
 nous matters, he went euer to bed at .ix. of the clocke, and
 awoke at .iiii. It was of custome that emperours hadde
 euer lyghtes brennyng in theyr chaumbre. And therfore
 whan he awoke, bycause he wolde not be ydle, he had euer
 a boke at his beddes heed. And thus in redynge he spent
 the reste of the nyght, tyll it was day. He rose at .vi. of the
 clocke, and made hym redy openly, not angrely, but mery-
 ly: he wolde demaunde of them that were presente, howe
 they had spent all the nyght tyme. And there he wolde re-
 herse what he had redde that nyght. Whan he was redy,
 he wolde washe his handes with very well smellynge wa-
 ters: for he was a great louer of al swete odours. He had
 a good and a quicke smellynge. Than in the mornynge
 befoze euery man, he wolde take .iii. or .iiii. morselles of e-
 lectuarie of sicados, and two draughtes of Aqua vite.
 After that in sommer he wold go forthwith a fote to the ri-
 uer side, and there passe the tyme the space of two howres.
 And as soone as the heate came, he wolde goo to the hygh
 capitoll to the senate. That done he wente to the colledge,
 where as all the procurours and ambassadours of all pro-
 uinces were, and there he wolde be a greatte parte of the
 daye, and here euery nation by hit selfe, accordynge to the
 tyme that was deputed by order. And towarde the even-
 nyng, he wolde goo to the temple of the virgyns vesta-
 les. He ate but ones a daye, and that was somewhat late,

and thanne he wolde make a good meale, and but of fresse
meates. He hadde a custome euery weke in Rome, or other
cities, where as he was, that two dayes late in the even-
nyng he wolde walke in the stretes without his garde or
knyghtes, only with. x. or. xii. pages, to se if any persone
wolde speake with hym, or complayne of any offycer of his
courte and house, and this he caused to be demaunded of
other men. This good emperour wolde oftentymes saye:
A good prynce that wyll rule and gouerne wel, and not to
be a tyraunte, oughte to doo thus: That is, that he be not
couctous of trybutes, nor proude in his commaundemen-
tes, nor vnkynde to seruyces, nor bolde in the temples, nor
defe to here complayntes. In fulfyllynge hereof he shall
haue the goddes in his handes, and the hartes of menne
shal be his. All the whyle that this Marke was emperoure,
he had neuer porter at his chaumbre doore, but yf it were
the two houres that he was with Faustine his wyfe. This
good emperour had in his house a secrette closette locked
with a key that he bare hym selfe, and neuer trusted none
other therewith to the houre of his death. And than he co-
maunded to deliuer it to Pompeiano, a prudent ancient
baron that was maryed to his doughter: In the which clo-
set he had diuers booke wryten in all langages, as Greke,
hebrew, latyne, and Caldee, and other antike hystories.

The answer of M. the emperour, whan Faustine his wife
demaunded the key of his study. Cap. xix.



So it is naturall to womē to dispise that thing
that is gauen them vnasked, so it is deathe to
them to be denayed of that they do demaunde.
This emperour had the study or closet of his
howse in the mooste secrette place of his palays, wherin he
neither

neyther suffred his wyfe, seruant, nor frend to entre. On a
 day it chanced, that Faustus the emperesse desyred importu-
 natly to se that study, sayenge these wordes: My lord, let
 me se your secreete chaumbre. Beholde I am greatte with
 chylde, and shall dye, yf I see it not. And ye knowe well,
 that the lawe of the Romaynes is, that nothyng shall be
 denyed to womanne with chylde, of that they desyre. And
 yf ye doo other wyse, ye do it in dede, but not of ryghte.
 For I shall dye with the chylde in my bodie. And more o-
 ver I thynke in my mynde, that ye haue some other louet
 within your study. Therfore to put away the peryll of my
 trauaplynge, and to assure my harte frome Ielousie, hit is
 no great thyng to lette me entre into your studye. The em-
 perour seynge that Faustynes wordes were of trouthe, & by
 cause he sawe her wordes washed with wepyng, answered
 her on this wyse: It is a thyng certayne, whan one is con-
 tented, he saythe more with his tongue, than he thynketh
 with his harte. And contrary wyse, whan one is heuy, the
 eyen wepe not soo moche, nor the tongue can not declare
 that is locked in the hart. Vayne men with vayne wordis
 shewe and declare theyr vayne pleasures: And the wyse
 men with prudent wordes, dissemble theyr cruel passyons.
 Amonge wyse men he is wysest, that knoweth moche, and
 sheweth to knowe but lyttell: And amonge the symple, he
 is mooste symple, that knoweth but lyttelle, and sheweth
 hym selfe to knowe moche. They that are prudent, though
 they are demaunded, say nothyng: but symple folke wille
 speake ynough without askynge of any questyon. This
 I saye Faustyne, bycause thy wepyng hath soo hurte me,
 and thy vayne speche so turmented me, that I can not de-
 clare that I fele, nor thou canst not fele þat I saye. Dy-
 uers aduertisementes haue they wyrtten, that haue wyten
 of mariage, yet haue they not wyrtten, how many trauailes
 that

that one womanne causeth her housbande to suffre in one daye. Of a suretie, it is a ioyfull thyng to reioyce in the chyldehode of chyldezen, but it is a ryght cruel thyng to suffre the importunities of theyr mothers. The chyldezen do now and then a thyng that tourneth vs to pleasure, but ye women do nothyng but gyue vs dyspleasure. I shall agree with all married men to pardon theyr chyldezens pleasures, for the annoyance that the mothers gyue to theym. One thyng I haue sene, the whiche neuer begyled me, that the iuste goddes doo gyue to the vniuste menne, that all the euylles that they doo in this worlde, shall be remytted to the furies of the other worlde: But yf they doo commytte any synne for the pleasure of any woman, the goddis commaunde, that by the handes of the same womanne, we shall receyue payne in this worlde, and not in the other. There is not soo fyers or peryllous an ennemie to a manne, as is his wyfe. And though a manne can not lyue with her as a man, I neuer sawe none soo lyghte, beinge with a hypocryous woman, in doyngge vyce, but that by the same woman at the last he receyued shame and chastisement. Of one thyng I am sure, and I saye it not by cause I haue sene it, but experymented in my selfe, that though the husbande do all that his wyfe wylle, yet wyl she do nothyng that her husband wold haue done. Great crueltie is amonge the barbariens to holde theyr wiues as sclauyes: And no lesse madnes is it of Romaynes, to kepe them as ladyes. I lesse ought not to be soo leane, that it abhorre: nor so fatte that it clope the stomacke: but meane and enterlarded, to the ende that it be sauourye. I saye that a wyse manne canne not gyue so stronge a byrdell to his wyfe, that she wyl obeye as an hande mayden: nor gyue her so lyttell of the byrdell, but she wylle exalte her selfe as maystresse and ruler. Beholde Faustyne howe

ye womanne are soo extreme in all heedlonge extremities,
 that with a lyttell fauour ye wylle exalte, augement, and
 growe into greatte pryde: and with a lyttell dysfauour, ye
 recouer greatte hatred. There is no parfite loue, where is
 no egalitie betwene the louers. And as ye and other are
 vnperfyte, soo is your loue vnperfyte. I wote well ye vn-
 derstande me not. Therfore vnderstande faulstye, that
 I saye moze than ye wene. There is no woman, that with
 her wylle wolde suffre any greater than her selfe: no: to
 be content too haue an other egall with her. For thoughe
 she haue a. M. li. rente, yet she hath .x. M. folpes in her
 heed. And that worse is, though it chaunce her husbande
 to dye, and she lese all her rente, yet endeth not her folp-
 nes. Herken to me, and I shall tell to you moze. All women
 wolde speake, and haue all other to be styll: they wolde
 gouerne, and be gouerned of none other. One thyng they
 desyre, that is to se, and to be seene. And suche as be lyghte
 in folowynge they: lyghtnes, they holde as they: subiec-
 tes and sclauens: and suche as be wyse, and repproue they:
 appetites, they pursue as enemies. In the annales Pom-
 peys, I haue founde a thyng worthy for to be known,
 and that is: Whan Gnee Pompeie passed into the orient
 on the mountaynes Rifers he founde a maner of people
 called Masagetes, whiche had a lawe, that euery inhaby-
 taunt or dweller shuld haue two tonnes or fattes, bycause
 there was lacke of houses in the sayde mountaynes: In
 one was the housbande, the sonnes and men seruautes:
 and in the other the wyfe the doughters and maydens.
 On the holy dayes they dydde eate to gether, and ones in
 the weke they laye together. Whan great Pompeye had
 questioned the cause of they: lyuyng in that maner, for
 that he neuer sawe no: knewe a moze extreme thyng in
 all the worlde, One of theym answered: Pompey behold,

the

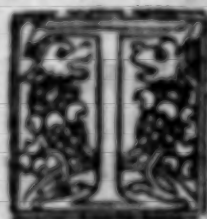
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the goddis haue gauen vs but a shorte lyfe, for none of vs maye lyue aboue. lx. yere at the moste, and those yeres we trauayle to lyue in peace. And in hauyng our wyues with vs styll in companye, we shulde lyue euer dyenge: for we shulde passe the nyghtes in herynge theyr complayntes: and the dayes in sufferynge theyr brawlynges and chydnynges. In keepynge them this wyse from vs apart, they nourtyshe theyr chyldren more peasibly, eschewynge the noyses that fleeth the fathers.

Tell the Faustyn, that though we cal the Masagettes barbariens, in this case they be wyser than the Romayns. One thyng I wyl tell you Faustyn, and I pray you marke it well. If the beastly mounyng of the fleshe enforced not the wyll of man to do his luste, and that he wolde not desyre women, I doubt whether women wolde suffre it or loue it the lesse. Of trouthe yf the goddis hadde made this loue voluntarye, as it is naturall, that is as we wolde we myght, and not as we wold and may not: with great peyn a man myght be satisfied, though he shuld lose hym selfe for any woman. It is a great secrete of the goddis, and a great myserie to man, that the laynte and weke fleshe doth force the herte whiche shulde be free, to loue that it abhorreth, and to alowe that that domageth. This is a greatte secrete, that men can fele hit euery houre as men: and yet by dyscretion may not remedy it. I enuie not the lyuynge goddis, nor the menne that be deed, but for two thynges, and they ben these: The goddis lyue without feare of the that be malycious, and they that be deed are in peace without nede of women. The ayre is so corrupt, that it corrup- teth euery man with two pestylent plages so deadely, that the fleshe and the harte endeth. O Faustyne, is the loue of the fleshe so naturall, that whā the fleshe fleeth scornefully we shulde leue the true harte as captiue: And the reason

as reason put her to flight, the flesh as flesh forthwith
feldeth her to you as overcome.

The emperor reherbeth the perilles of them
that haunt women excessively. Cap. xx.



The emperor folowynge his purpose declareth
the vniuersall domages, that come to man by
ouerinoche conuersation and hauntinge of
women. And after he had tolde some particu-
lar cases that he had suffred with Faustina his
wyfe, he sayde: I am well remembred, y^e in my yong age I
folowed the flesh to moch, with purpose neuer to returne.
And therfore I cōfesse, y^e yf I had good desyres in one day
in stede therof a 90. days I wrought yll. It is reason that
ye women flee from them that flee from you: to hyde you
from them that hyde them fro you, to leue them that leaue
you, to seperate you fro them, that seperate them fro you:
to forgette them that forget you. For some scape fro your
handes yll famed and effeminate: and other are hurt with
your tonges, many ben persecuted with your werkes, and
the better to scape free, they come awaye abhorred of your
hartes and bounde to your lyghtnesses. Than who that
feleth this, what getteth he by the attaynyng therof? O
to howe many perilles offereth he hym selfe, that with
women is greatly conuersant? If a man loue theym not,
they count hym as a villayne: yf he loue them, they thynke
hym lyghte: yf he leaue theym, they repute hym for a co-
warde: yf he folowe them, he is losse, yf he serue theym, he
is not regarded, yf he serue them not, he shall be hated of
theym, yf he wylle haue theym, they wylle not haue hym:
yf he despyse theym not, they wylle seeke on hym: yf he
haunte theym, he is ylle named: yf he haunte theym not,
they

they reckon hym no man. What shall the vnhappye man do? Let men take this for certayne, that though the hus-
 bande do for his wyfe all that he can do as a man, and that
 he ought to do as a husbände, and with his weakenes do
 the beste that he can, for to fynde remedy agaynste pouer-
 tie with his trauayle, and put hym selfe in danger for her
 euerie houre: all this shall not please his wyfe, nor make
 her the better, but she wyl saye, that the traytoꝝ louethe
 other, and that all that he dothe, is onely to accomplyshe
 his pleasure on them. Many dayes ago Faustyne, I haue
 wylled to tell the this, but I haue dysferred it tyll now, ho-
 pyng that thou woldest gyue me occasyon to tell it the:
 the whiche longe agoo thou haste caused me to feele. It is
 no poynte of wyfe men, that for euerie tyme they are an-
 noyed with theyꝝ wyues, for the with to hurte the in with
 wordes. For amonge wyse men the sayd wordes are moſte
 esteemed when they are well appoyzed and sayd to good
 purpose. I do bethynke me, that it is. vi. yere syth Antho-
 ny Die thy father dyd chuse me to his sonne in lawe, and
 thou me to be thy husbände, and I the for my wyfe: this
 my fatall destenye dyd permytte, at the commaundemente
 of Adrian my lorde. My father in lawe gaue the his fayre
 doughter to me for wyfe, and the very sadde and ponde-
 rous empye in maryage. I trowe we were all begyled:
 He to take me for his sonne, and I to chuse the for my
 wyfe. He was named Anthony Dius, bycause he was pi-
 tiefull in all thynges, saue vnto me, to whome he was cru-
 ell, for in all lytell fleshe he gaue me many bones: and to
 say the trouthe, I haue no tethe to gnawe it, nor no heate
 in my stomacke to dygeste hit: and manye tymes I haue
 thoughte my selfe losse with it. For thy beautye thou were
 desyred of many, but for thy puell condicions thou were
 abhoyred of all. O howe vnhappy ben thy destenies Fau-
 styne

fyne, and howe yuell haue the goddys prouyded for the
 The haue gyuen the beautie and rycheſſe for to vndo the,
 And they haue denyed and refuſed to the the beſte, that is
 good condicions, qualitie, & wyſdome to mayntayne them
 I ſay to the agayn, that the goddys haue ben very cruelle
 to the, ſpthe they adreſſed the to the whyſlepole, where as
 all yll folke perſhe, and haue taken from the, the ſayles
 and oozes, wherby all good folke eſcape. The. xxxviii. ye-
 res, that I was without wyfe, ſeemed not to me. xxxviii.
 dayes: and the. vi. yeres that I haue ben maryed, ſeme to
 me. vi. hundred yeres. I wyll aſſure the one thyng, that
 yf I had knowen befoze, that I knowe nowe, and had felt
 than, that I fele at this houre, I wold ſay an other thyng
 And though the goddes wold commaunde me, and Adyan
 my maſter wolde commaunde me, I wolde not chaunge
 my pouertie and quyetnes, for the maryage of the & them-
 ppe. But I haue deſpyed the in thy good fortune, and my
 ſelfe to myn yll fortune. I haue ſayde but a lyttelle, and
 haue ſuffred a great deale: I haue feyned a great whyle,
 but I can feyne no longer. No man ſuffreth his wyfe ſoo
 moche, but he is bounde to ſuffre moze. Let a man, that is
 a man conſyder, and lykewyſe a woman that is a woman
 conſyder, what boldnes ſhe is of, that quarelethe with
 her huſbande, and that he is a foole that brawleth openly
 with his wyfe. For yf ſhe be good, he ought to fauour her,
 that ſhe maye be the better: yf ſhe be a ſhewe, he muſt ſuf-
 fre her, that ſhe wate not woꝝ. Eucry man knoweth, that
 all thynges ſuffreth chaſtyſement ſaue a woman, whiche
 (as a woman) wyll be deſyꝛed and prayd. Fauiſtne beleue
 me, yf feare of the goddis, the ſhame of her perſone, and
 ſpeache of the people, withdraue not a woman from euyl,
 all the chaſtyſement of the worlde wyll not ouercome her.
 The harte of man is verye noble, and the harte of a wo-

man is deyntie, and wyl haue great hye for a lyttel goodnes, and for moch euyl no chastysment. A wyse man wyl knowe what he hath to do or he marre. Than yf he determyne hym to take the companie of a wyfe, he ought to enlarge his harte to receyue all that maye come with her. It is but a small wytte in a man to sette by the smalle fantasies of his wyfe, or for to chastise openly that may be ryghted betwene them secretely. He that is wyse and wyl lyue quietly with his wyfe, ought to kepe this rule: admonishe her often, and reprove her but seldome, and lay no handes on her. For by other meanes he getteth not fidelitie on her nor good entreatynge of her, nor good byngynge vp of their chylde, nor seruyce to the goddis, nor any hope of profyte of her. And thus Faustyne I wyl saye no more to the, but that thou consyder, that I do consyder, and know that I do se, and that my sufferaunce vnknewen to the, may suffyse to amende thy lyfe.

The emperours answere to Faustyne for that she sayde, she was with chylde. Cap. xxi.



Dwe that I haue opened and put out the olde benym, I wyl answere to thy present questyon or demande. To thentent that medicines maye profyte them that be syke, it is necessary to dyspoyle the opilations a lertes of the stomake: Lyke wyse none can counsaylle his frende conuenientely, but yf he shewe fyrste his grefe. Thou demaundest of me the key of my study, and thou threttest me, that if I gyue it the not, thou shalte be losse and hurte with thy fruyte: ye womenne with chylde haue a good hostage or pledge, for vnder colour of trauaylynge before your tyme, ye wolde haue vs fulfille all your fonde appetytes. Whanne the
holy

holy senate in the unhappie tyme made a lawe in fauour of
Romayne matrones, they were not so desirous. Nowe I
wote not howe it is, but ye all are anoyed and wery of all
goodnes. And all ye in all pill are desirous and couetous.
As farre as I canne rememb:re, whan Camylle made his
bowe to Cybille the mother of goddis, to sende hym victo-
rie in a battayle, whan he had wonne the victorie, Rome
was so pooze, that it hadde neyther golde nor syluer for to
make the statute of promesse, the matrones than beyng, se-
inge that they husbands dyd offere their lyues in the sayd
warre, they granted to present their iewels to the holy se-
nate. It was a meruayllous thyng to see, that withoute
any spekyng to them, or without any mans entysement
they determyned all togyther to go to the hye capytoll, and
there in the presence of euery man presented they owches
hangyng at they eares. The rynges of they fingers, the
bracelettes of they armes, the perles from their attires of
their heades, the collers from their neckes, The broches
of they brestes, the gyddelles aboute they myddels, and
borders of they gownes. And though that they gyft was
esteemed to a great value, yet their good wylles was este-
med a greatte deale more. The rycheesse that they offered
there was so greatte, that there was not all onely inough
to performe the vow of the statute, but also to pursewe the
warre. And as than the custome of Rome was, that none
dyd them any plesure, but he was shortly recompensed: the
same day that the matrones did offere they ryche and faire
iuelles in the capitolle, there was graunted vnto them
fyue maner of thynges in the Senate: The fyyste, that
at they deathes the oratours shuld preache, publishe, and
shewe they good lyuynge: The seconde that they shuldc
sit in the temple, where as before they were wont to stand:
The thyrde, that they shuldc weare furred & lyned gownes,
where

M A R C V S

where as befoze they ware none but syngle: The. liii. that
in they? diseases they myght drinke wyne, where as befoze
on they? liues they durste drinke none, but water: The. v.
that the matrones of Rome great with chylde, shulde not
be refused of any thyng that they desyzed. These fyue
thynges fo? certayne were iustlye and wyllyngely graun-
ted by the senate. And why this lawe that commaundeth
to denaye nothyng to a woman with chylde was made,
I wyll tell the the occasyon that moued the senate so to do
Julius Corquate beynge consull in the warre agaynst
the Volseos, the knyghtes of Mauritanie broughte to
Rome a wylde man, that had but one eye, that they hadde
taken in huntynge in the desertes of Egypt. And the ma-
trones of Rome were at that tyme as sad and honeste, as
they be now bolde and lycht: so was the wyfe of the said
Corquate, that was nyghe the tyme of her delyueraunce
great with chylde, of trowth a woman so honeste, that fo?
the sobye solytarynes that she kepte in Rome, she hadde
noo lesse glozve thanne hadde her husbände in the warres
fo? his worthynes, the whiche was well proued. Fo? in
the. xiii. yere that Corquate her husbände was in Asye
a warre fare, the fyfste tyme that he wente thyder, she was
neuer sene at the wyndowe lokynge out, and she was not
all ouerly regarded fo? that, but in all the sayde. xiii. yeres
neuer manchylde no? manne aboue the age of. viii. yeres
came within her gates. And not contente with this, that
she dyd to gyue example to all Rome, and to attayne per-
petuall memozy, where as she had lefte with her thre son-
nes, the eldest of whome was but thre yeres of age: and as
soone as they came to. viii. yere, she sente them out of her
house to they? grauntfathers. And thus dydde this ex-
cellent Romayne lady, to the entente that vnder colour of
her owne chyldezen there shulde none other yonge chyldezen
entre

entre into her howse. Those yeres passed, after that the good olde man Torquate was returned fro the warres of the Volscos, the sayde wyld man with one eye wente by the dooze of the sayde Torquate, and one of her maydens tolde her, that it was a meruaylous thyng to se: and the good lady hadde great desyre to see hym, and bycause there was none to bypnye hym to her, that she myghte see hym, she dyed for sorowe. And for certayne thoughe he came often inoughe by her dooze, yet she wolde neuer goo no; loke out at her wyndowe to se hym. Her deathe was gretly bewayled in Rome, for she was in Rome most dearly beloued, and good reason: for many dayes afoze was no suche womanne brought in Rome. And by the commandement of the senate, the tenour of this wrytinge in verses were set vpon her sepulchre.

Here lyeth the glorious matrone wife of Torquate, that wolde aduenture her lyfe to assure her good fame.

Beholde Iustine, this lawe was not made to remedy the death of this matrone, but to the ende that to suche as ge be, and to all the worlde it shulde be a perpetuall example of her lyfe, and memoze of her deathe. It was well done to ordeyne that law for an honest woman being with chylde, that it shulde be kept to all vertuous women. And as women wold, that the lawe of them that be with chylde shuld be kepte, so by the same lawe it is requisite to require that they be honest. In the vii. table of the lawe it is sayd: we commande, that where there is corruption of customes, there liberties shal not be kepte.

Howe tydinges was brought to the emperour, that the Mauritanys wold conquer.

great Britayne. Cap. xxi.

X

In



MA the. lxxx. yere of Marcus the emperours
 sege, and the tenth yere of his election to
 the myppe, In the month of July, as he was
 in the cite of Naples, and not in verpe per-
 fyte helthe, for he was soore payned with the
 goute in his foote: there came a Centurion in maner of
 a messenger with great haste, sayeng that in great Bytayne
 was sodenly arryued a great nauye of warre, to the nom-
 bre of. C. &. xxx. mypps of the realme of Mauritan, and the
 quantitie of. xx. M. men of foote, and. ii. M. men of ar-
 mes: and that the kyng of Mauritayns brother was their
 capytayne, named Asclapio, the whiche had taken lande
 at a hauen of the yle called Arpine, and that to resyste soo
 great a power, there were but a fewe people in the sayde
 yle. The good emperour heyrnge these tydynge, though
 he felte it inwardely as a man, yet he sayned it outwardly
 as a dyscrete man with a sadde countenaunce, and made
 fewe wordes. Than scyng, that busynes myght not be de-
 layed, he sayde these wordes: I wyll go with a fewe peo-
 ple, and do what I can. For better it were with a fewe to
 go betwines, than to tarye for many and goo to late. And
 forthwith the good emperour pourueyed, that all they of
 his palays shulde departe to go to Bytayne, and none to
 tarry behynde, to do hym seruyce. The custome was, that
 the emperours shulde haue alwaye in theyr houses suche
 men as were mete to be sent forth in any busynesses that
 shulde happen for warre. And after that they were myp-
 ped, there arriued one of Bytayne, that shewed, howe the
 Mauritayns were retourned, so that none of them was
 lefte in the yle. Than this emperour kepte his house in a
 good poynt. A lyttell occasyon suffyseth to them that be na-
 turally of yll inclynation, to departe and spede throughe
 countreys to do harme: therfore he sent them of his house

to the entent, that by occasyon of the warre, they shuld not leade an yll lyfe. Than the emperour fearynge the dysolu- tion of his courte, and boldnesse of his officers, to the en- tent they shulde not leaue vertue and growe in vice, he de- termined on a day to call them to hym secretely, and to say these wordes to them.

¶ What the emperour sayd to them of his courte
in eschewynge ydelnesse. Cap. xxiii.

The greattest sygne in a vertuose man is to do vertuose werks, and vertuously to spende and occuppe his tyme: and the greattest signe of a losse man is to lese his tyme in naughtye warkes. The greattest happe of all, and the greattest desire of men is to lyue longe. For dyuers chaun- ces that fall in shorte tyme may be suffered and remedied by longe space. Plato sayde: A man that passeth his lyfe without profyte, as one vntworthy to lyue, ought to haue the reste of his lyfe take from hym. The splthe of secreete chambres, the synche of the pompe in shyppes, nor the or- dures of cities do not corrupte the aye so moche, as ydel folke do the people. And as there is in a man, that occupp- eth his tyme well, no vertue but it encreaseth, soo in hym, that occuppeth his tyme ylle, there is no vyllayne but it is suspecte in hym. A manne that is alwaye wel occupied, ought euer to be reputed as good: and the yll manne with out further enquiry ought to be condemned as noughte. Shewe me now, I praye you, what dothe nouryshe the corrupte and foule wibes, the nettelles that synge, and the byers that pake, but the erthe that is vntylled, and waken wyld, and the fyldes full of thyselles, whiche is not wyded, and vntylled with the plowhe.

A. II.

O Rome

O Rome without Rome, that now as vnhappy hast but
 onely the name of Rome, bycause thou arte so dere in ver-
 tues, and makest vires good cheape. pea pea, and I shall
 tell the, knowest thou wherfore thou arte so: bycause thou
 haste vnepeopled the lanes and stretes of werkeinen and
 offycers, and haste peopled it all aboute with infinite va-
 caboundes. I knowe so: trouthe, that the Samytes, Vo-
 sigoths, Astrogoths, and Dentens spredde in your terry-
 tories, do you not so moche damage as do these ydell and
 losse people stuffed in euery shoppe. All wynters canne not
 deny me, that if al natiōs wold conquere Rome, they coude
 can not take awaye one loope of the walles of it: and these
 ydell people haue troden and pulled vnder theyr feete the
 good renome of it. In infallyble rule it is: a man gyuen
 to exercyses is vertuouse, and one gyuen to lewtrynges is
 a vicious persone. What a diuine thyng was it to se the di-
 uine worldes of our predecestours, the whiche syth Culli-
 us Hostilius, vnto Quintus Cincinatus dictatour, and
 syth Cincinatus vnto Cyncinos, whiche were of the Spl-
 lans and Marians, there was neuer Consulle at Rome,
 but he coude do some maner of offyce or occupation, wher-
 with they were occupped whan theyr offyce in the Senate
 was ended. Some coude paynte pictures or other flatte
 workes. Other coude graue images and poetry in wood
 or erthe, or other thynges, or coude worke in syluer, and
 other mettalles: and other redde in scholes: In suche wise
 that the holy senate myght chuse none, but p^r he were syth
 knownen in some maner handy crafte. I do fynde in the an-
 nales all that is aboue sayde: and p^r I Ipe, I do gyue me
 to the flames of Vulcan. And there was an ancyeut lawe,
 that a myller, a smyth, a baker, or a poynt maker, myghte
 not be a Senatour, bycause men of the sayde occupations
 were commonly taken with deceytes and gyles. Than re-
 garde

warde the maner and change of tyme, and the corruption
of customes, that, CCC. yerres every man trauspled for þ
renoume of Rome, & this, viii. C. yerres every man slepeth
to the sclander of Rome. Other thynges I fynd in the said
annales worthe of eterne memoire, the people of Rome
haupng. liii. peryllous warres togyther (yonge Scipio a-
gaynst the Deniens, Ducio agaynst the Capens, Metel-
lus agaynst Alexander of Macedonie, and an other Me-
tellus his brother agaynst the Celtiberes of Spayne) the
lawe beyng so soore kepte, that none shulde be taken from
the mysterie and offyce that he occupied, & the senatours
haupng extreme necessitie of messengers to sende to the
warres, whan the senatours had gone thre dayes aboute
with the censours of Rome, they coulde not fynde one y-
dell man to be sente forth with theyr letters. I wepe for
ioye, that I haue of this antyque felicitie: and I mourne
for compassyon of the myserie now beyng. It is a confu-
sion to say, but I wyl say it: Twenty yerres I had offyce
in the senate, and it is. x. yerres sythe I haue ruled the em-
pyre, whiche is. xxx. in all, In the whiche season I sweare
by the goddes immortall, I haue caused to whyppe, caste
in welles, to bury quicke, to hange, to prycke, and to ba-
nysh more than. xxx. M. vacabundes, and. x. M. ydell wo-
men. Than what dyfference is there betwene that lyfe and
this deth, that gloire and this payne, that golde and this
ordure, that antike Romaine werke and this our presente
inuentyfe ydelnes of Rome?

In the lawes of the Lacedemoiens this was wyrtten
in the table of the ydell people: We commaunde as kyn-
ges, we pray as seruautes, we teche as philosophers, and
admonyshe as fathers, that the fathers shall fyrste teache
theyr chyldren to labour the felde, where by trauaple they
may lyue, and not brought vp in places, where by ydelnes

they may be lost. And that lawe sayth fethermore: If the
pouge people obeye not as pouge, we wyll that the age
poeple do cor recte and puny the them as aged. And in case
that the fathers be negligent to commaunde them, or that
they be dysobedient: We commaunde the pynce than to be
diligent to chastyse them.

Certaynly these wordes are worthy to be noted: wher
by Lygurge the kynge deserued eternall memoxye for his
persone, and the sayde realme perpetuall peace in the com
mon welthe. O Rome, what doest thou? Why regarded
thou not these lawes of the Lacedemoniens, whiche with
they? frendely customes, dothe mocke thy brutall vyces?
Sleepest or wakest? O Rome thou wakest all the worlde
to leaue swete trayuaples, and sleepest in vniuste ydelnesse.
Thou arte sure of ennemyes, and thou careles arte drow
ned in slouth and ydelnes. Than syth that they that bene
farre of, do waken the, thou oughtest to awaken them that
thou kepest with the. I wolde speake to all them to gyther
of my palayes, and longe ago I wyllid so to doo, but the
multitude of straunge besynesses somtyme causeth a man
to forget his owne.

Of the peryllous lpyunge of them that haunt
the courte contynually. Cap. xxiii.



Ihan the emperour ioined these wordes to that
he had sayd. Many thynges I haue sene, and
of credyble persones I haue harde, whiche me
semed to be yll, and none of them good. Spe
cially one, whiche offendeth the goddes, scan
dizeth the worlde, peruerteth the comon welthe, and endo
mageth the person selfe: whiche is this cursed slouth, and
ydelnes that dystroyeth them that be good, & bitterly byn
geth

th to naught them that be yll. Somtyme secretly, and
as in sport openly I haue admonysshed and rebuked
me of you, but I se it proufite none of you. On one syde
the pynke of reson constraineth me to chastyse you: ageine
consyderynge the malice of man: ynde, all though that it
is prompte to yll, somtyme I am determyned to suffice
you. In any tymes I wolde with furpe chastyse you as chil
dren, but I do refrayne it. Consyderynge that ye are yonge
as yet knowe not the wyles of the worlde: for they holde
so styffely together the yll with the yll, & among them make
so great a leage of vices with the vices, that there be ma-
ny that do by gyle suffice them selfe to be begyled, and that
whan we escape fro a lyttell wyle, and knowe the begyler,
we thynke that we are begyled all redye with other greatte
wyles. I haue meruaylous great compassyon of you my
seruauntes, speakynge to you as a lord: and to you my
chyliden speakynge as a father, for to se you al the day and
nighyt wandryng through Rome as losse persones: and
that worst of all is, I perceyue that ye doo not perceyue
your owne perdition. What greater beastyness can there
be, than to se you wander lyke foles from house to house,
fro tauerne to tauerne, from one gasynge to an other, fro
strete to strete, fro place to place, fro playe to playe, fro re-
uellers to reuellers: And that more is, that ye knowe not,
what ye desyre, nor what ye wold, where ye go, nor whens
ye come, what please the you, or what dyspleaseth you:
what is proufytable or losse vnto you. And ye remem-
ber not, that ye were borne reasonable menne, and that ye
lyue as wyld folke amonge menne, and after shall dye
as brute bestes. Fro whens cometh that this cometh
The cause is the desyre of beastely mounynges, not resy-
singe the desyre of the lorde of pouth, and aboue all
not applyng your myndes and wylls to be wel occupied.

Take

Take hede amonge you of my courte, and forgettenot
 this. Haue ye no thought but to seke newe passymes, and
 to borrowe euery day: Roman, of what condition so euer
 he be, excepte he haunt feates of armes, or other lernynge
 in some ordinarie exercyse, shall haue his body lustye and
 his spirite quicke: but shall be acloyed in al other thinges
 and wander frome strete to strete, as a vacabounde. The
 harte of man is noble, and hathe power continualye for
 all actes, and all passymes of the bodye, and yet in thre
 dayes it is annoyed of hym selfe alone, soo that with hym
 can not rest one laudable exercyse. Lyke as I am emperour
 of all the worlde, so it is reason, and muste nedes be, that
 I haue folke of all nations in my palays. And suche as
 the prynce is, such shall be his householde: & as his house
 is, so shall his courte be: & as the courte is, so shall the hole
 empyre be. For this cause a kynge ought to be ryghte ho-
 nestie: his house well ordered and ruled, his officers well
 lerned, and his courte well kepte in awe. Of my good lyfe
 dependeth their good lyues, and consequently the yll lyues.
 Euery nation lerneth in theyr particuler scholes, The Sy-
 riens, in Babylon: the Persians in Dorke: the Indians
 in Olympe: the Caldees in Thebes: the Grekes in Athe-
 nes: the Hebrewes in Helye: the Latines in Samie: the
 frenche men in Oylance, the Spaniardes in Gades: and
 they all togyther in Rome. The vniuersall schole of all the
 worlde is the persone, the house, and courte of a prynce.
 As we emperours do say, the same wyl our subiectes say:
 as we do, they wyl do: that we forsake they wyl leaue:
 yf we lese our selves, they wyl lose them selues: yf we wyne,
 they wyl wyne: and fynally our welth is theyr welth, and
 our harme is theyr harme. Truly the prynce is bounde to
 kepe his owne persone honestly and well besene, his house
 and courte so well ruled, that all they that shall se it, maye
 haue

haue despye to folowe and do thereafter: and that all they,
that here thereof, may despye to se it. Take ye hede, and let
vs take hede: haue ye in mynde, and let vs haue in mynde,
that they, which be of strange lades, going through strange
landes into strange landes, by they; great traualles com-
myng to haue and demaunde succour and remedy of vs,
may haue no cause to repute any scanders of our y^el custo-
mes. What thing moze monstrous can be noyed among
men, than that they shold come and complayne of the the-
ues of they; countreys, to the theues of my court: What
greater shame and inconuenience can be, than to demand
Iustyce of they; mensteers, of the mankillers of my court
and house: What crueltie were so cruel, as to complayne
of the vagaboundes of they; landes, to the flouthfull and
pdel folke of my house: What thyng can be moze shame-
full, than to come to accuse theym that haue sayde ylle of
emperours, befoze them that euery day blasphemie the god-
dis: What thyng can be moze inhumayne, than to come
to aske iustyce on hym, that hath transgressed but ones, of
them that neuer byd good warkes: Truly in suche case
the poze men shulde retourne with they; ignorance begg-
led, and we shulde tarpe with our cruell malyce shamed of
men, and culpable befoze god. O howe many small mat-
ters do we chastyse in men of smal reputation, which with-
out breakyng of Iustyce we myght forbear: and howe
many great thynges do the goddis suffer in the byc p^rin-
cis and lordes, the whiche not without Iustyce, they maye
griuously punyssh: And by that cruell men as cruell, can
pardon nothyng: and the goddis pitiefull scantely wyll
chastyse anye thyng. yet for all this, I wolde that none
shulde deceyue hym selfe, for though the goddis forbear
they; iniuries, yet they leaue theym not unpunysshed, by
straunge Iustyce. The goddis ben in theyr chastisements

as he that gyueth a blowe to an other, the hper that he lyf-
teth his hande, the greater is the stroke on the cheke. By
semblable wyse, the moe peres that they forbere our synnes,
the moe afterwarde do they hurte vs with peynes. True-
ly I haue seene the goddys dyuers tymes to dyuers per-
sones forbere dyuers synnes a greatte whyle, but at the
laste I haue seene theym all vntwaates chastysed with one
chastysement.

How the emperour wolde haue them of his
courte to lyue. Capit. xxv.



I the that the goddis haue ordeyned, and my fa-
tall destenies haue permytted, that I shulde
be chosen emperour (not to shouthfull) I haue
laboured all that I myghte, to dyspyte the Em-
pyre: ye lyttell yonge folkes that are here, were gyuen to
me of your fathers, for to nouryshe you in my palayes.
And for you that are bygger, I was desyred to receiue you,
in hope to haue gyftes and rewardes, and other I dydde
chuse to do my seruyce. The intention of the fathers, whi
they bynge theyr chyldren to the court of princis, is to put
theym from dalyance of theyr frendes, and banyshe them
from the wantonnes of theyr mothers. And me seemeth it
is well done, for the chyldren from theyr youthe oughte to
gyue theym selfe to traualle, wherby they ought to lyue
and respyte the dysmayour and falles of fortune. ye are not
come from your countreys to lerne the vyces of Rome, but
to lerne many good maners that are in Rome, and leaue
the yll maners of your landes. All that doo not this, and
forsake traualle: gyue theym selfe to very ydelnesse. The
myserable Rome hath the moe nede of labourers for to la-
bour, than of lordes and habytauntes, Patriciens, that
wyl

I will but passe the tyme in rest and pleasures. I sweare to
 you, that not for weyringe the armes with the crafte of we-
 upnge, and the spynners with spynnyng, the bordell houses
 nowe a dayes are fuller of ydell women, than the churches
 of good priestes. And I sweare agayne, that easelper maye
 be founde. x. yd. yll women in Rome to serue in pleasur of
 vyces, than. x. good menne to serue in the churches. I
 praye you, who sleeth the marchantes in hye wayes? Who
 dyspoyleth wayfarynge men and pylgrimes on the moun-
 taynes? who pyketh the lockes and breketh honest mennes
 doxes and wyndowes? who robbe by strengthe the chur-
 ches? but these lewtyng theues, whiche will not labour
 by day, but dispose them to robbe by night. O Rome, what
 harmes come to the for one onely euill? Who hath fylled
 Italy so full of losse people, the palays so full of vnable
 persons, the mountaynes so full of theues, the tauernes
 so full of yll women, and euerie place so full of vacabundes
 but one, the canker of ydelnes and slouth, whiche deitro-
 peth the good customes more than the windes and waters
 thynne olde woyme wailles. Beloue me sone thyng, for I
 wote that I say trouth therin, that the crafte of weayr-
 ynge, wherin all the naughty vilanyes are wouen and wrought,
 and the seede of all vnhappy vyces, the dyspyng of all
 goodnesse, the fallynge of all theym that be euill, and the
 awakynge and prouokynge of all these, is but this foule
 vyce of slouth and ydelnesse. And more ouer I saye, that
 there is no vyce amonge all vyces, that byceth so great a
 fyre, and causeth soo contynualle a spckenesse of slepe a-
 monge aged folke, and that putteth the good folke in soo
 great peryll, and doeth soo moche damage to theym that
 be euill, as doth ydelnes. Who is it, that causeth sedition
 amonge the people, and sleaunders in Realmes, but they
 that rest and do nothyng: because they wolde eate the
 good.

M A R C V S

foode gotten by sweat of them that labour: who is it, that
 fyndeth newe inuencions of tributes and foraphe exacti-
 ons, but ydell men, the whiche bycause they wyl not worke
 with theyr handes, fynde profyte with infinite exactions:
 who maketh discession betwene neyghbours but ydell folke:
 they deuide theyr pille amonge theyr neyghbours, bycause
 they occuppe not theyr forces in good workes, nor restryne
 theyr tongues to clatter of other mens lyues: who imagine
 neth in these dayes so many malices in Rome, the whiche
 was neuer harde of our fathers, nor redde in oure booke:
 but vacabundes, that neyther apply nor sette theyr wyttes
 about nothyng els, but thynke howe to endamage others:
 The emperour that coulde banyshe all these ydell persons
 out of his empyre, myght well auant hym selfe to haue op-
 pressed all the vices of the worlde. I wolde it pleased the
 immortal goddis, that of so many triumphes, that I haue
 hadde of straungers, occupied in good exercises, that I
 hadde sene one of the vacabundes of Rome dyspuen out of
 all houses. There was an auncient lawe, none myghte be
 taken and receyued for a citisen in Rome, but he were fyrst
 examined by the Censure. In the tyme of Cato Censorius
 when any wolde be a citisen of Rome, this examination
 was made of hym: He was not demaunded, of whens he
 was, nor what he was, nor whens he came, nor wherfore
 he came, nor of what kynne or auncient stocke he came: but
 only they toke his handes betwene theyrs, and yf they felte
 them softe and smothe, forthwith as an ydell vacabunde
 man they dyspatched and sent hym away: & yf they founde
 his handes harde and full of hard knottes, by and by they
 amytte hym a citezen and dweller in Rome. Also when
 any officers toke any yll doers, & put them in prison, that
 was called Harrotine, in steede of information, the fyrst
 thyng that they toke hede of, was theyr handes, whiche

if they had bene as a labourers handes, and a work man,
 though his crime were greuous, yet his chastisement was
 mitigate, and moze easie: and if the unhappy prysoner
 chaced to have ydel handes, for a lyttel fault he shuld have
 sharpe punishment. It hath ben an olde sayenge: He that
 hath good handes, muste nedes have good customes. I
 say, I chastised never a labouringe man, but I was soze
 for it: no; I never caused to whyppe a vacabunde, but I
 was gladde of it. I wyl tell you moze of this Catho Cen-
 sorius, whiche was greatly feared. For euen as chyldeyn
 in the scholes, heringe theyr mayster commynge in, cenne
 to theyr booke, So when Catho went through the stretes
 of Rome, ewery body went to theyr worke. O righte happy
 baron, befoze whom the people feared moze to be ydel, than
 to be yll befoze any other. Than beholde ye at this houre,
 what force vertue hath, and howe valiaunte a vertuous
 man is, seyng that all the worlde feared Rome onely, for
 her worthynes in armes: and all Rome feared Catho, one-
 ly for his vertues. The aduentures of men are so dyuers,
 and the suspecte fortune gyueth so many ouerthwart tur-
 nes, that after that a great space she hath gyuen greatte
 pleasures, incontinent we are cyted to her subtyll trauay-
 les of repentaunce. O happy Catho Censorius, who with
 suche as haue folowed his wapes, are now sure fro the a-
 batementes of fortune. Than he that wyl haue gloze in
 this lyfe, and attayne gloze after deathe, and be beloued
 of many, and feared of all: lette hym be vertuous in do-
 ynge of good workes, and deceyue no manne with bayne
 wordes. I sweare vnto you by the lawe of a man of wor-
 shippe, that if the goddes wolde accomplishe my desyre,
 I had rather to be Cato with the vertuous policies that
 he vsed in Rome, than to be Scipio, with the abundance
 of blode, that he shedde in Affrike: All we knowe well, that

¶.iii.

Scipio

M A R C V S

Scipio hadde a great fame in beatynge downe of citie
and cuttyng innocentes thzotes, and Catho hath attay-
ned eternall memoze in refozmyng the people, pardonyn
trespassours, and teachynge ignorant folke. Than ye may
all see, yf I haue not good reason, moze to desyre to be Ca-
to, to the pzoofte of many, than to be Scipio, to the pzei-
dyce of so many. Lo my frendes, these wordes I haue said
bycause ye may see, that our pzedecessours, somme in their
owne londes, other in strange landes, some beynge yonge,
and some olde, in theyz tymes had gloze in theyz persons,
foz them selfe: and foz the wo:ld to come haue left no lesse
memozy foz theyz successours and offsprynge. And we doo
all the contrary, I beynge emperour am lothe foz to com-
mande any yll, and our offycers foz theyz interest do wo:ke.
And where as we are set in dyuers pleasures by our dyce,
we fall hourelly into dyuers myserys, and are noted to our
great infamye. By the whiche occasyon the iust goddes foz
our vniuste wo:kes, gyuynge iuste sentence, commaunde,
that we lyue with suspicion, dye with shame, and to be
hurted with forgetfulnes, neuer to be hadde in memozy.
Than you of my courte take good hede, and ppynte welk
my wordes in your myndes: foz who so euer I se o: synde
ybell from hensfozth, I discharge hym out of my seruyce.
ye that be lerned may wyte and rede, ye that be men of ar-
mes and knyghtes, exercyse you in feates of warre, ye that
be officers, occuppe you in your offycers. And take this foz
certayne, that yf ye take not this foz a warnynge and mo-
nition, that I haue gyuen you betwene you and me, the
punysheementes that I shall gyue vnto you, shall be open-
ly. And to the entente that ye haue it better in your memo-
rie, and to be a doctryne to pynces hereafter to comie,
this present practyse and remonstrance I haue wytten in
all tongues, and set it in the hyghe Capytoll with manye
other

her of my wytynges. The goddis be keepers of you,
and also they defende and kepe me from yll fortunes and
aduentures.

Of a maruailous and fearefull monster, that
was scene in Scitile, and of his wy-
tynges. Capi. xvi.



At the pere of the foundation of Rome
vii. C. xx. and. xli. of the aeye of Mar-
cus the emperour, and. ii. yerres before
he toke possession of the empyre, the. xx.
day of the month Sextilis, which now
is called Auguste, about the tyme of the
sonne settinge, in the realme of Scytil,
than called Trinacie, in a cite called Bellone, on the see
now named Palerme, a port of the se, there chaced a thing
right perillous to them that sawe it, and no lesse fearefull
to them that shall here it nowe. As they of Bellone or Pa-
lerme were then celebratyng a feast with great ioye: for
the gladnes that their Pyrates had overcome the army of
the Numidiens, and had taken. x. of theyr shippes, & cast
xxii. persones into the see, because at that tyme they were
enemies eche to other, and for the yll workes they dydde,
here shewed the great passions, that passed amonge them.
And as it is the custome, the thyng that these Pirates
get on the see, they departe it amonge them all, whan they
come home. And whan they comme to lande, they spende
that meryly, that they gatte with greatte trauayle. It is
a thyng well to be noted, howe all good and ylle hartes
are applyed: The good men haue greatte desyre to theyr
triumphes, and couetous men to theyr lucte & wyninge.
Thus

Thus men ought to be beloued, though shortly after they ought to be abhorred. And also they ought to be abhorred, as though shortly after they ought to be beloued. Thus than the gouernours of the sayde cytie, commaunded all the sayde shyppes to be sequestred into theyr owne handes, to the intent, that they shulde not be solde, nor the coueytous people to haue the aduantage in the byenge of them. The cause was, for the custome of the menne of the ples was, that all thynges shulde be kepte togyther, vnto the ende of the warre, or at leaste tyll they had peace. This was a iuste lawe: for many tymes is made stedfaste appoyntementes betwene great ennys, and not all only for the auncient hatred, but also for lacke of rychesse to satisfye the presente damages. Thanne as all the people were withdrawen into theyr houses aboute suppertyme, for it was sommer, sodenly there came a monster into the myddes of the citie, after this shape: He seemed to be of two cubytes of heyghte, and he had but one eye, his heed was all pyllled, so that his scull' myghte be sene: He had none eares, but that a lyttell of his necke was open, wherby it seemed he hard: He hadde two croked hornes as a gote: His ryght arme was longer than the left, his handes were lyke hors fete, he had no throte, his necke was egall with his heed: his shulders shone as pytche, his breste and stomache was all rough of beate, his face was lyke a man, saue it hadde but one eye in the myddes of his foreheed, and had but one nosethyll, from the waste downewarde he was not scene, for it was couered, he satte on a chariot wich. iiii. wheles, wherat were two lyons fastened togyther before, and two bearers behynde: and it coulde not be determined, wherof the chariotte was made, but there was no difference in facion thereon, and other that were used commonly: In the myddes of the sayde chariotte was a caudron lyke a table
with

with two eares, wherein the sayde monster was: and therefore it was sene but fro the gyrdelstede vpwarde. He wente about in the citie fro gate to gate a long space castyng out spercles of fyre. The feare was so great, that dyuers women with chylde were deliuered with great peryll, and o-ther that were weake harted fell in a swoone. And all the people great and smalle, lesse and more, ranne to the temples of Jupiter, Mars, and Phebus, makynge importunate cries and clamours. And the same season all the sayd pyrates were lodged in the gouernours playes named Solyn. He was of the nation of Capue, and there was all the rycheesse kepte. And whan this monster had bene ouer all the cytie with his chariot, than the lyons and bea-ces broughe hym to the palays, where the pyrates were, and beyng very nygh to the gates that were faste closed, the monster cut an eare of one of the lyons, and with the blood therof he wrote these letters. **R. A. S. P. I. P.** These letters were a profe to all theym of hyghe spirite, to gyue declaracion of them: and there were mo declarations then there were letters. But finally a woman diuineresse, or contrary, a soothsayer, that was had in great reputation for her craftes, made the very declaracion of the sayde letters, sayenge thus. **R.** redde. **A.** aliena. **S.** si vultis. **P.** propria. **I.** in pace. **P.** possidere. Whiche all togyther is to saye, Render that pertyneth to other, yf that ye wylle in peace possesse your owne. Surely the pyrates were soore astrayde of that dreadfull commaundement: and the womā was greatly praysed for her high declaracion. Than forthwith the same nyght the monster wente into a hyghe mountayne called as than Janitia, and there by the space of thre days was in the syghte of all the citie: and in that season the lyons made great roynge and howlyng, and the bea-ces and monster keele out greate fearefull flames.

R. And

And all that season there neyther appered byrd in the ayre,
 no; beaste in the feldes, and all the men offered great sacri-
 fices to the goddes, in suche wyse that they brake the bey-
 nes of theyr handes and fete, and offered theyr blode, to se if
 they myght appease theyr goddes. After the thre days pas-
 sed, sodenly appered a cloude blacke and derke vppon the
 erthe, and it began to thunder and lyghten, with a greate
 erthequake, soo that many howses fell in the cite, and ma-
 ny of the dwellers and citesins dyed. And than sodenly
 there came a flame of fyre frome the monster, and brent all
 the palays, where the sayde Pyrates were, and the ryches-
 ses that were in it, so that all was consumed in it, yea the
 very stones: and the doynage was so great, that there fell
 mo then .ii. M. houses. And there dyed as good as .x. M.
 persons. And in the same place on the toppe of the moun-
 tayne, where as the monster was, theperour comaunded to
 edifie a temple to the god Iuppter in memoie of the same.
 Of the whiche temple theperour Alexander, haupnge
 warre with them of the realme, made a stronge castell.

¶ What befell to a citesin of Rome in the tyme of
 this emperour Marcus. Cap. xcvi.

In the same tyme that this aduenture chaunced
 in that Ile, there was dwellynge in the same
 cytie a Romayne named Anthygone, a lord of
 noble bloude, and somnewhat entred in age:
 and about two yere before, he, his wyfe, and
 a doughter of his were banyshe Rome, and not his son-
 nes. The occasyon was, There was an auncient laudable
 custome, sith Quintus Cincinatus dictatour, that two of
 the auncient senatours togyther shulde goo with the cen-
 sure newly created, and the olde, in the month of Decembre
 for

for to visite all Rome: and they to call every Romayne a-
 parte alone, shewynge hym the. xii. tables of theyr lawes
 and particular decrees of the senate, demaundyng of them
 if they knewe any neyghbour in theyr quarter, that hadde
 broken these lawes. And yf they dyd, it shulde be informed
 to the senate. And there all together to ordeyne punyshe-
 ment, accordyng to the dyuersitie of the fautes that they
 hadde commytted. But the fautes commytted that pre-
 sente were, they myght not chastyse, but to aduertise them
 to amende afterwarde. And all suche as were ones war-
 ned, and in the nexte visitation founde still vnamended,
 to be greuously punished, and somtyme banished. These
 were the wordes of the lawe in the. v. table and thyrde cha-
 piter: It is ordeyned by the holy senate, by consente of blis-
 full men, receyving the auncient colonies, that if men be-
 ynge men in one yere do trespas, the men as me for the said
 yere shall dissimule and forbear: but yf they that be yll as
 yll do not amende, they that be good, as good shal chastise
 them. Also the sayd lawe sayth, the fyrst fautes are suffred,
 bycause they are commytted with weake ignorāce: but yf they
 contynue them, they be chastysed, bycause they yll cometh
 of slouth and malice. This inquisition was euer made in
 the monethe of Decembre, bycause that soone after in the
 month of Janiuer the offces of Rome were dyuided. And
 it was reason, that they shuld knowe to whome they shuld
 gyue or denye theyr dygnities: to the intent that good shuld
 not be chosen in stede of yll, nor the yll in stede of good. The
 particular cause why they banished the man & his wyfe with
 theyr daughter was this: The seconde emperour of Rome
 August ordeined, that none shuld be so hardy to ppe at any
 doores of the temples: and Caligula the. iiii. emperour com-
 manded, that no woman shuld gyue any cedulaes to hange
 about the peoples necke, to heale the feuer quartayne.

A.ii.

And

And Cato Censorine made a lawe, that no yonge man nor yonge mayden shulde speke together at the conduites or welles, where they fetched water, nor at the ryuer, where they washed theyr clothes, nor at the ouens where they baked breadde, bycause all the yonge poeple of Rome that were wyde and wanton, canne euer thyder. So it befell, that as the censures and consules bysited the quarter called mount Celio, there was a dweller named Antigonus accused, that he was sene pssyng agaynst the temple wall of Mars: and his wyfe was accused, that she hadde solde cedulaes for feuer quartaynes: and lyke wyse his doughter was accused, that she was sene at the conduytes, ryuers, & ouens, spekyng and laughyng with yonge men of Rome. The whiche was a great shame to the maydens of Rome. Than the censures seynge the yll order, that they had found in the house of the sayde Anthygone by the registers, by due examination, beyng warned afoze, they were banysht into the yles of Cypyll, for as long as it shulde please the senate. And lyke as in edifices, sumptuouse and of greete estimation, one stone is not decayde or wythed out without shakynge or mounge of an nother: euen lyke wyse is it in the chaunces of men. For commonly one vnhappynes chaunceth not, but an nother folowed. And I saye this bycause Anthygone loste not onely his honour and welthe, but also he was banysht, and besyde that by the tremblyng of the erthe his house fell downe, and strewed welbeloued doughter of his. And all the whyle that this was done at Rome, & that that befell of the monster in Cicile, Marke the emperour was in the warres agaynst the Arrogons, and there he receyued a letter frome Antygone, wherein was reherfed his banysshynge, wherof the Emperour hadde great compasson, and to comforte hym, sente hym an other letter.

Of a great pestilence that was In Italy in this
emperours tyme. Cap. xxviii.



Fue yere after the dethe of Anthony the meke,
father in law to Marcus Aurelius, and father
to Faustine, there felle a pestilence in Italye,
and it was one of the. v. greatte pestilences a-
monge the Romayne people. This mortalitie
dured the space of two yeres, and it was vnyuersall tho-
ugh out all Italye, to the great damage and feare of all
the Romains: for they thought that the goddes wold haue
dystroyed them, for some dyspleasure that they had done a-
gainsst them. There dyed so mayn, as well of great estate,
as ryche and pooze, greatte and small, yong and olde, that
the wyrters had lesse trauaile to wyte the small nombze of
them that were lefte alpye, than to wyte the multytude
of them that were deed. Lyke as whan a great buyldynge
wyl falle, fyrst there falleth some stone: In lyke wyse the
Romayns neuer had no great pestilence in theyr tyme, but
fyrst they were threted with some token, signe or prodigie
fro heuen. Two yere before that Hanniball entred into I-
talye, in an euenyng, whan the wether was clere and fayre,
sodaynely it rayned bloudde and mylke in Rome. And it
was declared by a woman, that the blode betokened cruell
warre, and the mylke a mortall pestilence. Whan Scilla
retourned from Champayne, to put Marius his ennemye
out of Rome, his meyne of warre and knyghtes sawe in a
nyght a fountayne that ranne bloudde, and who soo euer
was bathed therein, semed to be popsoned with wenyne.
Of the whiche prodigie folowed, that of. ii. C. and. l. M.
dwellers in Rome, what with theym that dyed with the
swerde, and other consumed by pestilence, were consumed
with Scilla, and of them that fledde with Marius, of the
A.iii. sayd

sayde great multitude of Romaynes, there abode alpe no
mo but. xl. M. persones. Certaynly Rome neuer receyved
so great damage in. vi. C. yeres befoze, as they dydde by
theyr owne propre people. All the tyrantes were neuer so
cruell agaynst strange landes, as the Romayns were than
agaynst theyr owne propre landis. And this seemeth to be
true, bycause the same day p. Scylla passed through Rome
with his bloody swerde, a capitayn of his sayd to hym: Sit
Scylla, yf we flee them that beate armour in the felde, &
them that bere no armour in theyr houses, with whom shal
we lyue? I comure the by the hye goddis, syth we be borne
of women, let vs not flee the women: and syth we be men,
lette vs not flee the men. Thou thynkst that in fleyng of
the Romaynes, to make a common welth of beasis of the
mountaynes. Thou entrest with a crye to defende the com
mon welthe, and to put out the tyrantes that dystrope the
common welthe, and we do remayne tyrantes our felues.
To myn vnderstandynge that capytayn merited as great
glozie for the good wordes that he spake, as Scylla dydde
merite chastysment for the crueltie that he dyd. This we
haue said, bycause that ere suche damages dyd fallie, there
appered befoze certayne prodigyes and tokens. No lesse
token was shewed befoze the mortalitie that fel in the time
of this good emperor, the whiche was a fearefull thyng.
The case was so: On a dape as the emperor was at the te
ple of the virgins Vestales, sodaynly there entred in two
hogges, and ranne aboute his sete, and there fell downe
deed. And on an other dape as he came from the hygh Ca
pitoll, for to haue gone oute at the gate Salarie, he sawe
two kytes ioynyng together with theyr talantes: and soo
fel downe deed at the emperours sete. And within a shorte
whyle or season after, as the sayde emperor came fro hun
tyng, his houndes rennyng at a wylde beaste, as he gaue
two

his greghondes that he loued well, water to drynke with
his owne handes, sodenly they fell downe deed at his fete.
Than he remembryng the swyne, the kytes, and the grep=
poundes deed so sodeynly, he was greatly dismayed, and
assembled all his priestes magitiens, and diuines, deman=
ginge what they sayde to the prodygies. And they by those
thynges passed, iudged the dede present, and determyned,
that within two yeres the goddis wolde sende great & gre=
uous punyshementes to Rome. Than within a short while
after there began a warre agaynste the Parthes, whereby
there fel the yere after great famyn and pestylence amonge
the Romayns. This pestilence came with sores vnder the
arme pittes, so that all the senate fledde away, and the em=
perour alone abode styll in the capytoll. Than the ayre be=
gan to be so corrupt, that though he scaped the pestylence,
yet he was vexed with hote feuers. Wherefore he was fayne
to leue Rome, and wente into Champayne: and fynally in
the citie of Naples he made his abode durynge the tyme
that the pestylence was in Rome.

How Nat. answered his phisitions that wolde
haue him leaue his studie. Cap. xxx.



He emperor beyng in the sayde cytie of Na=
ples, where as other soughte pastyme to con=
serue theyr lyues, this emperor occupied hym
selfe in his booke to augment science. A man
coude do hym no better seruice, than to seke to
gette hym a newe boke: not suche as was wyten in his
tyme, but such as were forgotten for age. This emperor
was not onely a louer of olde and antyke bookes, but also
of auncient stories, and set very great stooze by theyn.
And he thus beyng in the cytie speke and verpyll at ease
there

there was brought to hym out of a cite of Asia called He-
 lia, by certayne Hebrewes, a boke wyrtten in Hebrew: a he
 toke suche pleasure in that boke, that ofte tymes he wolde
 leaue his meate and goo to study: and so; all that he was
 in his hote feuer, he wolde not leaue to reede, for all that
 his phisitians warned hym, and his frendes prayde hym:
 and they that were about hym, counsailled hym, and de-
 manded hym, why he lefte to procure the helthe of his per-
 sone in so moche redyng. He answered: By the goddes
 that we honour I comure you, and for the frendshyp that
 is betwene vs, I praye you lette me alone. ye knowe well,
 that suche as are of a delycate bloode, haue not soo moche
 solicytude as the rustycall people, that haue hard synewes
 and be of a moze harder complexion. A phe maner they of
 clere vnderstandyng haue nede of other medicynes, and
 to be heled with other symples than they of grosse vnderstan-
 dyng. This is the dyfference that I haue of eyther of them.
 The ydeote kepeth dyete from bookes, and resteth on his
 meate, and the wyse man abhorreth meate, and dyaweth
 hym to his bookes. If they knowe that knowe not, what
 thyng knowledge is, I sweate to you they shulde see what
 auayleth moze the lyttel knowledg that a wyse man hath,
 than the greatte ryches of the ryche man. For the mysere-
 ble ryche persone, the moze that he increaseth in rycheffe,
 the moze he diminisheth in frendes, and groweth in enne-
 mies to his damage. And he that is wyttie, the wyser that
 he is, the better he is beloued of them that be good, and
 feared of them that be yll for his profyte. One of the thyng-
 ges, wherein I holde my selfe moste bounde to the goddis
 in this, that they haue caused me to compas the tyme as
 I haue done, the which is not lyttel gyft for a man to lyue
 in this worlde. I say it is, bycause I haue had great com-
 passyon of the poore, that be very poore, of wydowes, of
 them

them that be sorrowfull and vnhappy, and of Ophelins.
 But without comparison, I haue had greatest compas-
 sion of them, that lacke knowlege. For the goddis, making
 menne ingnorant by naturalitie, myght haue made them
 goddis by conynge and knowledge: and as the flouth-
 full men are tamed and made lesse than men, by theyr ne-
 gligence, so certaynly blessed is he, that is not contente to
 be a man, but yf he procure to be moze than a man, by his
 vertue. And cursed is that man, that knoweth not to be a
 man, but maketh hym selfe lesse than a man by his vyce.
 By the iugement of al philosophers, there is but one, that
 is the fyrst cause, whiche is one god immortall, and if there
 be dyuers goddes in the heuens, it is bycause there are di-
 uers vertues in the erthe. And in the worlde, that is paste,
 whan the symple men were seruauntes and bonde menne,
 and the good men rulers and gouernours, they were then
 so esteemed, bycause they were knowen and renowned for
 theyr good werkes in theyr lyfe. So that they were hol-
 den and reputed as goddis after theyr deathe. This is the
 ryghte rewarde, that cometh of vertue. It is a thyng
 consonant to reason, that they that be good amonge soo
 many yll in this lyfe, shulde be greatly honoured amonge
 the goddis after theyr deathe. ye are not well content with
 me, bycause I am alwaye redynge: but I am worse con-
 tente with you, bycause I neuer se boke in your handes: ye
 thynke it great trauayle, to a sycke man, to rede, and I re-
 pute it a very peryllous thyng, for a hole manne, to reste
 and be ydle. ye say, my redynge is cause of my feuer quar-
 tayne in my fleshe: and I saye, that ydelnesse engendreth
 great pestilence. For I may profyte by my boke, let no
 man haue compassyon of my trauayle. For I desyre rather
 to dye as a wyle person, among wyle men, than to lyue ig-
 norantly amonge menne. I demaunde one thyng of you:
 I man

a man, presumyng to be a man, and is not lerned, what difference is betwene hym and other beastes? Certaynly, the beastes are moze profytable to labour the erthe, than symple persons be, to serue the common welthe. A poze ore gyuerh his skynne to make shone, his flesshe to be eaten, and his strength to labour: and a poze symple shepe doth profite, his flece and woll to make clothe, & his milke to make chese. But what profyteth a folishe ideote man? Nothyng, but offendeth the goddes, sclaudereth innocentes, eateth the breade of other, and is chiefe heed of vacabundes. Of trouth yf it lay in my handes to do, I had rather giue lyfe to a symple ore, that to a malicpous ideote. For the beast liueth, for the vtilite of dyuers, without doyng damage to any other: and the symple ideot man liueth, to the damage of all other, and without profyte to any persone. Therfore thynke well, why I am not pleased with theym that be ignoraunt, and loue theym that be lerned. Marke spys, what I shall shewe pou: That man seemeth good, that is meke and gentyll of condition, softe in wordes, and restfulle in his persone, and gracypous in conuersacion. And contrary wyle, that personne sooze displeaseth me, that is sharpe of wordes, sooze moued in his warkes, spottous in his condicion, and double of his promyse, and harde harted. Also I say, that yf any thyng wante in a wise man by nature, he supplyeth it by science: and he that is ignoraunt and folyshe, yf he want dyscretion, he supplyeth it with his malyce. And truste surely, that a worthp vertuouse man thereby becomethe wyle, and he is to be trusted: and he that is of an other maner, beware of hym, for he goeth aboute to sell his malyce. He that wyl begyle an other, the fyrst thing that he doth is, he sheweth hym selfe to be symple and ignoraunt. For a man beyng in credence, maye soone spede abrode his malyce. The mothes and softe womyn, freete the

the clothe, and the canker worme perseth the bone, and flatterynge men begyle all the worlde.

Howe science ought to be in pyncis. Cap. xxx.

The sayd emperour folowing his purpose, sayd: frendes beholde, howe greate damage ignorance dothe to all men. And though it be damageable to euery man, yet it is moſte hurtfull to a pynce, whiche oughte, not onely to be content, to knowe as moche as any other wyſe perſon knoweth, but to knowe that euery man knoweth, ſythe he is lord ouer all other. To my iugement, theſe pyncis ar not choſen, that they ſhulde eate moze meat, than all other, nor to be apparayled rycheſer than all other, nor to renne faſter than all other: but with preſuppoſitiō that they ought to knowe moze than all other. Whan a pynce wyll refrayn his ſenſualitie, than he ought to regarde, that his perſone be ryght honeſt, and remēbre this worde, that is, The gretter that a pynce is of power, aboue other, the moze oughte he to be vertuouſe aboue al other. For certaynly the greateſt infamye is, to ſe a man moſt myghty & moſt ryche aboue all other, and than to be known an ideot, & leſſe of knowledge than other. All defautes in a gouernour may be bozne ſaue ignoraunce: for ignoraunce in a pynce, is a ſtroke of peſtilence: and it ſleeth dyuers, and infecteth all perſons, and vnepeopleth the realme, chaceſe away frendes, & gyueth harte to enmies of ſtrange natiōs, that were in drede, & finally domageth his perſon, and ſclaundreth euery one.

Whan Camyll triumphed ouer the frenche men, the daye of his triumph he wrote theſe wordes in the Capptoll: O Rome, thou haſt ben moder of all wyſe men, and ſtepdame to all fooles.

Theſe were worthy wordes of ſuch a lord,

and but yf my remembraunce begyle me, certaynely Rome was moze renoumed for wyse persones, that came thither, than for the featis of warre, that were sente from thence. Our auntyent Romayns were moze feared, for theyr wyse dome and knowledge, than for theyr conquestes. All the erth feared them moze, that tourned leaued of bokes in Rome, than them, that were armed with armoure. For that cause Rome was neuer vanquished: and though theyr armys were deuyded and broken, yet they neuer lacked wyse men. I can not say it without teares, Rome is fallen frome the most hyght of her estate, not for faute of money and armes, for to fyght withall, but for lacke of wyse men, and vertuous, for to gouerne. Our forefathers wanne lyke men, and we lese lyke symple chyldren. All thynges that are despyed of men, they attayn by trauayle, susteyn with thought, and departe fro, with great annoyance. And the reason is this: There is nothyng so good, nor soo well beloued, but the course of tyme, causeth vs to leaue it, and to dyspryse and abhorre it, or to be wery therof. This is the vayne vanite of the worlde, and lost tyme lost: for with theyr yonge desyres, they do refrayne theyr desyres. They wolde oftentymes attayne a thyng, and after they study, howe to go therfro agayne. And yet to shewe further theyr lyghtnes, that that cost moche, they geue for a lyttel pyce. That that they loue at one tyme, they hate at an other: and that that they with great studye and labour haue attayned, with greatte furye they forgo. And me thynketh this is the ordinaunce of the goddis, that he that loueth, shall haue an ende, and it that is beloued, shall take an ende: and the tyme that we are in, shall ende. Than it is reason, that the loue, wherewith we do loue, shall ende in lyke wyse. Thus our appetyte is so dyshoneist, that in seynge we desyre it, and in desyring we procure it, and in procurynge, we attayne it, and in the at-

teyning

tynnyng we abhorre it, and in the abhorryng, we leaue it:
 and than forthewith agayne, we procure an other thynge,
 and that newe procurynge, we abhorre agayne: In suche
 wyse, that whan we begynne to loue a thynge, than we fall
 agayne to hate it, and in the fallynge to hate it, we begyn
 agayne to loue an other thynge. So thus fynally, our lyfe
 dothe ende, er our couetyse dothe leaue vs. It is not thus
 of wysdome and knowlege, the whiche, yf it ones entre in-
 to a mans harte, it causeth hym to forget the trauayle, that
 he toke in the attaynyng thereof. For he taketh the tyme
 past as good, and enioyeth with ryghtful ioy, the tyme pre-
 sent, and hateth ydelnes. For he is not contente with that
 he knoweth, but inforceth his appetite, to knowe moze, lo-
 uynge that other leaueth: and leauynge, that other loueth.
 Finally, he that is perfittely wyse, sporteth in this worlde
 with trauayle, and in trauayling in bokes, is his rest. We
 haue not to saye of all thynge, but of that we fele of them.
 For it is an other maner to speake by similitude of a stran-
 ger, and of our owne experience. And in this case I saye,
 that though we hope of no rewarde of the goddis, no: ho-
 nour amonge men, no: memoze of the worlde to come: yet
 am I ryght gladde, to be all onely a phylosopher, to se how
 gloriously the philosophers haue passed theyr tyme. I de-
 maunde one thynge, whan myne vnderstandynge is dul-
 led, in that I haue to doo, and whan my memoze is trou-
 bled, in that I haue to determyne, and whan my bodey is
 compassed with dolours, and whan my harte is charged
 with thoughtes, and whan I am without knowledge, and
 whan I am set about with perpls, where canne I be better
 accompanied, than with wyse men, or els redynge amonge
 bokes: In bokes I fynde wysdome, wherby I may lerne:
 also there I fynd worthynes, which I may folowe: I fynd
 there prudence, to counsell me, I fynde suche as be sorow-

full, with whom I may wepe. I fynde them there that be
 merie, with whom I maye laughe: I fynde there, symple
 folke, at whome I may sport: I fynde that is nought, whi-
 che I maye laue: And fynally, in booke I fynde, howe in
 prosperitie, I ought to behaue me: and howe in aduersi-
 tie, I ought to guyde me. O, howe happy is that manne,
 that hath well red: And yet more happy is he, that though
 he knoweth moche, yet stayeth vppon counsaile. And yf
 this be true generally, than moch more is it necessary, that
 he kepe the true waye, whiche gouerneth all other. It is a
 rule infallible, that a prynce beyng wyse, can neuer be sim-
 ply good, but very good: and the prynce that is ignoraunt,
 can not be simply ill, but very ill. A prynce, that is not well
 fortunate, his wysedome maye greatly excuse hym to his
 people, of his mysfortune gyuen to hym by fortune. And when
 a prynce is greatly beloued of his cōmentie, and is vertu-
 ous of his persone, than euery man saythe, yf he haue not
 good fortune: All though our prynce wat good fortune, yet
 his worthy vertues sayle not: and though he be not hap-
 py in his ententes, yet at the leaste he sheweth his wysdom
 in the meane season. And though fortune denye hym at
 one howze, yet at an other tyme, she agreeth, by his wys-
 dome. And contrary wyse, an vnwyse prynce, and hated of
 his people, by puell fortune, renneth into great peryll. For
 yf yll succede to hym in weighty mattiers, than inconty-
 nent it shalbe sayd, it is by reason of the ignoraunce of hym
 selfe, or by yll counsell of such as be about hym, & yf good-
 nes succede to hym, it shall not be attributed by reason of
 his good gouernaunce, but that fortune hath suffered it,
 and not by the cōsumpsecte wysedome, that he hath hadde
 in the meane season, but that it was of the pitie, that the
 goddis had of hym. Than such it is thus, a vertuose and
 a worthy prynce, in his ydell tymes, ought secretly to rede
 in bo-

in booke, and openly to common and counsell with wyle
men. And in case, yll fortune wyl not permyt hym, to take
theyr counsailes, yet at the least, he shall recouer credence a-
mong his subiectes. I wyl say no more to you, but I esteem
the knowlege of a wise persō so moch, that yf I knewe, that
there were shops of sciēces, as there is of other marchan-
dise, I wol gyue al þat I haue, only to lerne, that a wise man
lerneth in one day. Finally I say, that I wyl not gyue, that
lyttel that I haue lerned in one houre, for al the gold in the
worlde: And more gloze haue I, of the booke that I haue
red, and of such workes as I haue wrytē, than of al the vic-
tories, that I haue had, or of þat realmes that I haue won.

What a vilayne sayde to the senatours of Rome, in the
presence of the emperour. Cap. xxxi.



This emperour, beyng sicke, as it is aforesayd,
on a daye, as there were with hym diuers phy-
sitions and oratours, there was a purpose mo-
ued amonge thepm, howe greatly Rome was
chaunged, not all onely in edifyces, but also in
customes, and was full of flatterers, and vnpepled of men,
that durste say the trouthe. Than the emperour sayd: The
fylste yere, that I was consull, there came a pooze vilayne
from the ryuer of Danubie, to aske iustyce of the senate, a-
penste a censure, who dydde dyuers extortious to the peo-
ple: and he hadde a small face, and great lyppes, and ho-
lowe eyes, his heare curled, bare heeded, his shooes of a
porkepes skyn, his cote of goats heare, his gyrdell of bulle
rushes, and a wylde egglantyne in his hand. It was a strāge
thinge to se hym so monstrous: and inetruable, to here his
purpose. Certaynly, whan I saw hym com into the senate,
I wende it had bene some beaste, in the figure of a manne.

And

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And after I had harde hym, I iudged hym one of the goddes, yf there be goddes amonge men. And as the custome in the senate was, that the complayntes of the pooze persons were harde, befoze the requestes of the ryche: this villayne had lycence to speake, and soo beganne his purpose, wherin he shewed hym selfe as bolde in wordes, as extreme and base in his aray, and sayd: O ye auncyent fathers, and happy people, I Whyles, dwellinge in a cytie on the ryuer of Danubie, doo salute you Senatours, that are here assembled in the sacred senate. The dedes do permytte, and the goddes suffre, that the capitayns of Rome, with theyr great pryde haue reduced vnder subiection, the vnhappy people of Germany. Great is the glozy of you Romainys, for your battayles that ye haue wonne throughout all the worlde. But yf wyrters saye true, more greater shalbe your infamy, in tyme to come, for the cruelties that ye haue done to the innocentes. My pzedecessours had people nyghe to the flode of Danubie, and bycause they dyd ylle, the erthe waxed drye, and they drewe to the fresshe water: than the water was noyfull to them, and they returned to the mayn lande. What shall I say than: your couetyse is so great, to haue straungers goodes, and your pryde so renoumed, to commaunde all straunge landes, that the see may not profyte vs, in the depnes therof, nor the erthe, to assure vs in the caues therof. Therfore I hope in the iuste goddes, that as ye, without reason, haue caste vs out of our houses and possessyons: so other shall com, that by reason, shal cast you out of Italy and Rome. An infallible rule it is, that he, that taketh wrongfully an other mans good, shall lese the ryght of his owne. Regard ye Romainys, though I be a villayn, yet I knowe, who is iust & ryghtwysse, in holdyng his owne: and who a tyrant, in possessyng others. There is a rule, that what so euer they, that be yll, haue gathered in
many

many dayes; the goddes taketh fro them in one daye: and contrarpe wyse, all that euer the good haue losse in manye daies, the goddys restorēth to them agayn in one day. Be-
 leue me in one thyng, and haue no doute therin, that of the vnlauffull wyngnyng of the fathers, there foloweth the iuste losse to theyr chyldren. And yf the goddes toke frome them, that be yll, euery thyng, that they haue wonne, as soone as it is wonne, it were but reasone: but in lettynge them alone, therby they assemble by lytell and lytel diuers thynges, and than, whan they thynke least theron, is taken from them all at ones. This is a iuste iugement of the goddys, that sythe they haue done yll to dyuerse, that some shulde do yll to them. Certaynely it is not possyble to any vertuous man, yf he be vertuous, that he take any taste in an other mans good. And I am soze abashed, how a man, keepynge an other mans good, can lyue one houre. Syth he seeth, that he hath don iniure to the goddis, sclādyed his neybour, pleased his enemyes, lost his frendes, greued thē that he hath robbed, and aboue all, hath put his owne person in peryll. This is a shamefull thyng amonge menne, and culpable befoze the goddys, the man that hath the desyre of his harte, and the byddelle of his warkes at suche libertie, that the lyttell, that he taketh and robbeth fro the pooze, seemeth moche to hym: but a great deale of his owne seemeth to hym but lytell. O what an vnhappy man is he, whether he be Greke, or latyn, that without consyderation, wyl chaunge his good fame into shame, iustice into wrogg, ryght into tyranny, or trouth into lesynge, the certayne into vncertayne, haupnge annoyauce of his owne goodes, and dye for other mens: He that hath his princypall intention, to gather goodes for his chyldren, and seke not for a good name, amonge them that be good: it is a iuste cause, that he lese all his goodes, and so withoute good name to

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to be shamefull amonge them that be yll. Let all couetous
and auaricious people knowe, that neuer amonge noble
men was gotten good renoume, with spredynge abrode of
yll gotten goodes. It can not endure many dayes, no: yet
be hydden vnder couert many peres: a man to be holden
ryche amonge theym that be ryche, and an honorable man
amonge them that be honorable: for he shal be infamed, of
that he hath gathered his ryches, with great couetyse, or
kepeth it with extreme auarice. Oyf these couetous peo-
ple were as couetous of theyr owne honour, as they be of
other mens goodes: I sweare to you, that the lyttell wo:me
or mothe, that eateth the gounes or clothes of suche coue-
tous people, shulde not eat the rest of theyr lyfe, no: the
canker of infamye, dystrope theyr good name and faame at
theyr deathes. Herke ye Romaynes, harke what I wyll
say, I wolde to the goddes, that ye coulde taste it. I se that
all the world hateth pryde, and yet is there none, that folo-
weth mekenes and humilitie. Euery man condemnyeth
aduouterie, and yet I see none, that lyueth chaste: Euery
man curseth excelle, and I se none lyue temperately: eue-
ry man prayseth pacience, and I se none that wyll suffre:
euery man blameth flouth, and I se none, but they be ydel:
euery one blameth auarice, and yet euery body robbeth.
One thyng I saye, and not without wepyng: I saye eue-
ry manne, with his tongue onely, prayseth vertue, and yet
they them selues, with all theyr lymmes are seruauntes vn-
to vices. I saye not this onely for the Romaynes, which
bene in Illirie: but I saye it by the senatours that I se in
the senate. Al ye Romaynes, in your deuises aboute your
armes beare these wordes: Romanorum est debellare superbos,
& parcere subiectis, That is, it pertaineth to Romaynes, to
subdewe them that be proude, and to forgyue subiectes.
But certaynely ye maye better saye: hit pertaineth to Ro-
mayns

mayns, to expell innocentes, and to trouble and bere wroꝝ fully peasible people. For ye Romayns are but distroper of peasible people, and theues to robbe froine other, that they sweate for.

Of dyuers other thynges that the bylayne sayd before the senate. cap. xxxii.



De Romayns, sayd this byllayn, what action haue ye, that are brought vppen nygh to the ryuer of Thyber, agaynste vs, that are nygh to the ryuer of Danubie? Haue ye scene vs frenedes to your ennemyes? or haue we declared vs your ennemyes? or haue ye harde say, that we haue lefte our owne lande, and inhabyted any straunge londres? or haue ye harde, that we haue rebelled ageynste our lordes, or haue troubled any straunge realmes? or haue ye sente vs any ambassadours, to desyre vs to be your frenedes? or hath any hooſte of ours come to Rome to distrope you, as our ennemyes? or hath any kynge dyed in oure realme? that in his testamēt made you heyr to our realme? or what antyke lawe haue ye founde, wherby we ought for to be your subiectes? Of trouthe in Almayne herby, they haue felte your tyzanny, as well as we haue herde of your renowme. And moze ouer I say, that the names of the Romaynes, and the cruelte of tyzantes, aryued together in one day vpon our people. I wote not what ye wyl say, that the godys care not for the hardynes of men: for I see, he that hath moche, dothe tyzanny, to hym that hath but lytell. And he that hath but lytell, though it be to his infamy, wyl serue hym that hath moche. So that disordred me appoint them with secreete malyce, & secreete malyce gyueth place to open theft: & the open robbery no man resysteth. And therfore it cometh, that the couetyse of an yll-man necessarily is had

D.ii. to be

to be complete, to the p̄iudycce of many good men. One
 thyng I wyll say, that epyther the goddes ought to thynke
 howe these men shall haue an ende, oꝛ elles that the worlde
 muste ende: oꝛ els the worlde, to be no worlde. Oꝛ fortune
 muste holde sure with you, yf all that ye haue won in. viii.
 C. yeres, ye lese not in. viii. dayes. And where as ye are be-
 come lordes ouer many, ye shall become slaues to all the
 worlde. Certayne the goddes shall be vniuste, withoute
 that thyng come, that muste fall to the worlde hereafter.
 Foꝛ that man that maketh hym selfe a tyraunt perforce, it
 is ryghte, that he retourne to be a slaue by iustyce. And it
 is reason, that syth ye haue taken our myserable lāde, that
 ye kepe vs in Iustyce. I haue great maruaple of you Ro-
 mayns, that ye send so simple p̄sons to be our iuges. Foꝛ I
 sweare to the goddis, they can not declare your lawes, noꝛ
 vnderstande ours. I wote not whether ye sente theym thy-
 der oꝛ no, but I shall shewe you, what they do there. They
 take openly, what soo euer is delyuered to theym: and they
 doo theyꝝ p̄ofytte with that they desyre in secrete. They
 chastyse the pooꝛe personne greuously, and they forbear
 foꝛ money, them that be ryche: they consente to many wron-
 ges, to byng them after to the lawes: & without goodes it
 boteth not to demande iustyce: and finally, vnder yꝝ colour
 that they be iuges, vnder the senate of Rome, they say they
 shal robbe all the londe. What is this ye Romayns: Shall
 your p̄yde neuer haue an ende in commaundyng, noꝛ your
 couetyse in robbynge? Saye what ye wyll. If ye doo it foꝛ
 our chyldren, charge theym with p̄ons, and make theym
 slaues: If ye do it foꝛ our goodes, goo thither and take
 theym: If our serupce doth not contente you, stryke of our
 heedes. Why is not the knyfe soo cruell in our throtes, as
 your tyrannyes be in our hartes? Doo ye knowe, what ye
 haue doone ye Romaynes: ye haue caused vs to sweare,
 neuer

neuer to retourne to our wyues: but too flee our chyldren,
 rather than to leaue them in the handes of so cruell tyrants.
 We had leauer suffice the beastly motions of the fleshe
 for .xx. or .xxx. yeres, than to dye without wounde, leauynge
 our chyldren slaues. ye ought not to do this ye Romayns.
 A lond taken per force, oughte the better to be ruled, to the
 entent that the myserable captiues, seying iustice duely mi-
 nistred to them, shulde therby forgette the tyranny passed,
 and to set theyr hartes to perpetuall seruitude. And sythe
 we are come to complayne of the grefes that your Censu-
 res do vpon the fludde of Danubie, peraduenture you of
 the senate wyl heare vs. Wotte ye what they doo? Marke,
 and I shall shewe you. If there come a ryght poore man,
 to demaunde iustyce, haupnge no money to gyue, nor wyne
 to present, nor oyle to promyse: they fede hym with wordes,
 sayenge howe he shall haue Iustyce, but they make hym
 to waste the tyme that he hath, and gyue hym nothyng,
 though he demaunde moch. And so the myserable person,
 that came to complayne, retourneth complaynyng on you
 all, cursynge his cruell destenies, and maketh exclamatiō
 vppon the ryghtwysse goddes. I lyue with acornes in wynter,
 and cutte downe the grene corne in sommer, and some-
 tyme I go a fyshynge for pastyme, so that the moste parte
 of my lyuynge, is feedynge in the fieldes, and ys wote not
 why: here me, and I shall shewe you. I se suche tyrannies
 in your censures, and suche robberyes amonge the poore
 people, and I se suche warres in that realme, and hope of
 so small remedy in your senate, that I am determined, as
 moste unhappy, to banyshe my selfe out of myn owne hous,
 and honest company, to thentent that my harte shulde not
 fele so great a hurte. It is a great payne to suffice the ouer-
 throwe of fortune: but it is a greater yll, whan one feleth
 it, and can not remedy it: and yet without comparyson my
 D.iii. great

greatest greife is, whan my losse may be remedped, and he
that may, wyl not, and he that wyl, can not remedpe it. O
ye cruell Romayns, yf the sorowes all onely shulde be re-
duced to memozy, that we sustre, my tongue shulde be wery
and all my membyres faynte, and myne eyes shoulde wepe
bluddy teares, & my fleshe wold consume. This in my labe
may be sene with eyes, harde with cares, and felte in pro-
pre persone. Certaynly my harte departteth, and my soule
is troubled, & myn entayles bzeake. And I beleue yet, the
goddys wyl haue compassyon. I wyl desyre you to take
my wordes for sclaunder. For ye Romaynes, yf ye be Ro-
mayns, ye may well see, that the trouble, that we haue, co-
meth by men, and amonge men, and with men, and by the
handes of men. Than it is no meruayle though men fele
it as men. One thyng comforteth me, and dyuers tymes
amonge other, that be vnfortunate, it cometh to such pur-
pose, the whiche is, I thynke the goddys be so ryghtwysse,
that theyr fierce and cruel chastyementes come not but by
our owne cruell shrewdnes: & our secrete synnes awaketh
vs so, that we haue open iustyce. But of one thyng I am
soze troubled, by cause the goddys can not be contented. For
a good person, for a lytel fault, is greatly chastised, and he
that is pl, for many fautes, is not punished at al. So thus
the goddys forbear some, & some haue no mercy. Thus it
seemeth, that the goddys wyl torment vs by the handes of
such men as greue vs extremely. So that yf there were a-
ny iustyce in the worlde, whan they chastyse vs with theyr
handes, we shoulde not merite to haue our heedes on the
shulders. Therfore I say to you, ye Romayns, and sweare
by the immortall goddis, that in .xv. days, that I haue ben
in Rome, I haue sene suche dedes done in poure senate, &
yf the leest dede of them had ben done at Danubie, the ga-
lows & gibettes, had ben hanged thycher of theues, than
the

the vineyard with grapes and reysons. And sith þ my de-
 ath hath sene, that it despyeth, my harte is at reste: in spre-
 ynge abyode the popson that was in it. If my tonge hath
 sende you in any thyng, I am here redy, to make reco-
 nence with my throte. For in good sothe, I had rather to
 mynne honour, offerynge my selfe to the deathe, thanne ye
 shuld haue it, in takynge my lyfe fro me. Thus this vilain
 ended his purpose. Than the emperour sayde: How thinke
 ye my frendes, what kernel of a nut: what golde of fylth:
 what grayne of strawe, what rose of thornes, what ma-
 ture of bones, dyd he vnconser: What reason so hye, what
 wydes so well sette, what trowth so true, and what malice
 opened he soo. He discouered the duetye of a good manne.
 And I swere to you, as I may be deliuered from this cuill
 freter that I haue, that I saw this vilayn standynge a hole
 houre on the erth boldly, & we holdynge downe our hedes
 abashed, & could not answere hym a word. The next day it
 was accorded in the senat, to send new iuges to Danubie.
 And we comanded the vilayn to deliuer vs in wytyng, al
 that he had sayd, that it myght be registred in the booke of
 good sayenges of strangers. And the sayde vilayne, for his
 myse wordes was made patricien, & so caried styl at Rome,
 and for euer was susteyned of the common treasure.

Howe the emperour despyed the welth of his peo-
 ple, and the people his welth. ca. xxxiii.

In the seconde yere that Mar. was chosen em-
 perour, the. clv. yere of his aeye, as he retour-
 ned fro the warres, that he had in conquerynge
 the Germainys and the Aragonys, wherby he
 got gloze & ryches for the Romaynes empyre,
 he laye at Salon to teste hym, and to appoynt his armye,
 and

M A R C V S

and to the entente, that the Romaynes shulde apparell his triumphe in Rome ryght glourous and rychly: There was one thyng done, that was neuer sene before in Rome. For the day of his tryumphe, by all the people and consente of the senate, the prince Comodus, sonne to Marcus Aureli, was chosen after the dethe of his father to be Emperoure vniuersall of the empyre. He was not chosen by the petition of his father, for he was agaynste hit with all his power, sayeng, that the empyre ought not to be gyuen for the laude of them that be deed, but he shulde be chosen, for his owne good warkes. Oftentymes this Emperoure wolde saye, Rome shall be loste, whan the election shall be taken frome the Senate, and the Emperour to enheryte the empyre by Patrimonie.

T Nowe to retorne where as we lefte. This Emperour beyng at Salon, studped soze to entre into Rome in good order, and Rome studped soze howe to receyue hym, as it appertayned triumphantly for suche a warre. He was soze desyred of the empyre: and euer he imagyned, howe to do pleasure to the people, and the people were redy to dye in his scrupce. Dyuers tymes was moued a pleasant purpose in the senate, which of these thynges was moste to be loued: The Emperour to loue the people of the empyre, or the people of the empyre the emperour. On a daye hit was determyned, to sette iuges in that case: There were chosen the ambassadours of the Parthes and Roodes: and vppon that effecte they hadde wrytyng. It was layde for the Emperour, the good dedes that he had done in his absence, and the tokens of loue, that they hadde alwayes shewed in his presence. And on an other daye the emperour moued another question before the senate, saying, that it was a greater glorie, to haue suche subiectes, than the glorie of the senate, to haue suche an emperour. Than the Senate sayde nay:

nay: Affirming that it is a greater glorie that they had of
 hym, than he coulde haue of them. And in this maner the
 emperour gaue the glorie to the people, and the people to
 the emperour. Thus in spozte and play they toke iudges
 agayne. It was a merueylous thyng to se the ioy that they
 al had to proue they; intentes. And the good emperour for
 a memozye gaue the laude to the people, bycause of they;
 great obedience and seruice, and extreme loue that he had
 founde in them: And the happy people recounted the great
 clemencie and mercy that was in the emperour, and his
 vertue and worthynes in gouernynge, his honestye of ly-
 uynge, and his force and valiantnes in conquerynge. It
 was a great thyng to se the honour that the people gaue to
 the emperour, and the good renoume that the emperour gaue
 to the people. The wyptynges were gyuen to the straunge
 ambassadours, to the intent that the people myght lerne to
 obey they; prynces: and prynces to loue they; people. To
 the ende that by such examples, as it was reason, the good
 people shuld enforce them selues, and the yll to withdawe.
 Thus this emperour adressed his entre with his capitay-
 nes and captiues, And Rome apparayled theym with all
 their senatours and people to receyue hym. It was a huge
 thyng to se what people was at Rome to go forth to mete
 hym, and what people were with the emperour to entre.
 They that were at Salon hadde they; eyes and also they;
 hartes at Rome: and they that were at Rome hadde they;
 hartes at Salon. In suche wyse that they; eyes daseled
 with that they sawe, and they; hartes aiked for that they ho-
 red to se. There is no greater payne, than whan the harte
 is deferred fro that it longeth soze to haue.

Chowe the emperour gaue Lucilla his doughter ly-
 cence to spozte her at his playes, ca. xxxiii.

¶

It



Tis to be knowen, that the Romaynes had a
 custome, that in the monethe of Janiuer, they
 shulde make triumphes to theyr emperours:
 and in the same seson that the triumphes were
 apparapled. Faustyn the emperesse caused dyuers
 hygh persons to praye the emperoure to gyue lycence to a
 doughter of his, to com from there as she was kept, to the
 palays, and spoite her at the feastes. This mayden was
 named Lucie or Lucyll: She was hygher than the prync
 Commodus her brother: she was of a goodlye gesture and
 well proportioned of her body, and wel beloued of her mo-
 ther. And she resembled her not all onelye in her beautye,
 but also in her lypynge. And though the requeste was pe-
 titfull, and they that made it familiar, and he to whome it
 was made, was the father, and the demaunder was the
 mother, and she for whome it was made, was the dought-
 ter: the emperour graunted it, but not withoute great dis-
 pleasure. Neuerthelesse Faustyne was full gladde, and as
 sone as she had obteyned lycence, she broughte her dought-
 ter to the palays. And so whan the day of the great feaste
 and tryumphe was comme, the damoyzell Lucille beyng
 out of gouernaunce, and seynge her selfe at large, trustyng
 thanne vppon her owne innocencye, toke noo hede of any
 straunge malyce, laughed with them that laughed, talked
 with them that talked, and behelde them that behelde her,
 and without care she thought that none thought yll of her
 bycause she thought yll of none: yet in those dayes a may-
 den to laugh among men was reputed as moche as a wo-
 man to haue done aduoutrie with the prestes of Grece, so
 great was the honestie of Romayn women esteemed. And
 lightnes of maydens was a great infamie: for they were
 wayss punished for one open lyghtnes, than for two secret
 fautes Amonge all other seuen thynges the women dyde
 obserue

obserue surely, that is to wytte, not to speke moche at fea-
 stes, not to eate moche at bankettes, to drynke no wyne in
 theyr helthe, nor to speake alone with men, not to lyfte vp
 theyr eyes in the temples, nor to stande longe lokyng out
 at wyndowes, nor to go out of theyr houses without theyr
 husbandes. The woman taken with any of these dysho-
 nest thynges, was alwayes after reputed infamed. Many
 thynges were suffred of persons in small reputation, that
 were not suffred in persons of honour. For the noble wo-
 men coude not cōserue the reputatiō of theyr estate, but by
 reason of keepyng theyr person in great feare & good order.
 Al thynges done unkyndly is syn, & maye be amēded: but
 the dishonest woman is alway shamed. The noble ladies,
 if they wyl be taken as ladies, whā they excēde other in ri-
 ches, the lesse lycence ought they to haue to go wandryng
 about. Certaynly the plentie of goodes, & the liberty of per-
 sons, shulde not be a spur to pūcke thē forward, but rather
 abyddell to kepe them in theyr closettes. And this is sayde,
 for bycause that durynge the sayd feastes, the damoysele Au-
 cille, as a yonge mayden, and Faustyne, her lounge mo-
 ther not beynge olde, sommetyme a foote, and sometye
 tydyng on horsebacke, sommetyme openly, and somme-
 tyme meruaylous secretly, sommetymes with company,
 and sommetymes without companie, sommetyme on the
 daye, and nowe and than by nyghte, they wolde walke a-
 brode in the stretes of Rome to se the felde of Vulcan, in
 gardeynes Saturnines, and drynke at the conduytes of
 Actos water, and sommetyme passe the tyme by the fayre
 quier of Thiber, and in all suche other pleasaunt sportes
 as apperteyned to theyr age. And thoughē the fore tpyed
 ppyetyme prouoked them therto, yet the grauitie of su-
 che ladies shoulde not suffre it. I wylle saye one thyng,
 to the intent noble women shulde take auertisement therby,

A. II.

and

and that is this: I knowe not whiche was the greatestte dissolution, epyther the walkynge abrode of Faustyne and Lucylle throughe the stretes and other places, or elles the boldnes of yll speakers, speakynge agaynst theyr persones and good names. The withdrawynge and keppynge of women close is a byddell to the tongues of all men: and the woman that doth otherwyle, otherwyle putteth her good name in daunger. Of trouthe it were better for a woman neuer to be bozne, than to be defamed. Amonge the Romayns the lygnage of the Cornelies were had in great estimation. For of them all, neuer none was founde a coward, nor a woman defamed. The hystories shewe, that ones a woman of that lygnage beyng onely defamed, was hanged on the galowes by the handes of her owne kynsfolke. Surely it was well doone of the Romaynes, to the entent that the wyckednes of one woman shuld not suffere yll fame to renne vppon the hole lygnage: where is there noblenes without shame? The thynges that touche honour, ought not to be hyd but amended by Justyce, and to put theym to deathe, that lose theyr good fame. It is not suffycient for a person to be good: but it is necessarpe that he put fro hym all occasions that are reputed to be yll. All the lossys that a man may haue of any tempo: all goodes, can not countrepeyse the leest losse of good fame. A man that layeth his good fame for a farthyng at a but of this worlde, at a hundreth shottes scantly shall he shoote one a ryght. And contrary wyle the man that feareth no chaine, nor wyl not haue his personne in reputation, there is no hope of goodnes in hym. Than this emperour, as a shypmayster, saylyng in moost fayre and calme wether, forecasethe, and is in great thoughte and feare of tempestes and stormes to comie, in the feastes of his greatte glory, was in doubte of those two ladys, lest sodenly any mys-

fame

same shuld folowe. And certaynly he had great cause. For hit is an infallyble rule of enuyous fortune, that this present felycitie is gyuen with a prycke of a sodayne falle of myschance. In thynges naturall, we se somtyme the see caulme, and yet forthwith foloweth a peryllous stozme, and consequentye the great heate of the daye is sygne of thunder at nyght. I say fortune comynge with some present delyte or pleasure, is a tokene that by flaterynge vs, she hath made redy her snares to catche vs. Whan the miller is sure, he dresleth his water gaate, and the labourer whan it reyneth not, couereth his house, thynkynge that an other tyme the wethers or raynes wyll falle thereon and trouble hym: In lykewyse a wyse and a vertuous man ought to thynke, as longe as he lyueth in this worlde, he holdeth his felicitye but at aduenture: and his aduersitie for his naturall patrimony. Amonge all them that coulde reioyce in prosperitie, and helpe theym selfe in aduersitie, this emperour Marcus Aurellius was one: whiche for any flaterynge that fortune coulde shewe hym, he neuer trusted in them: nor for myshappe that he had in this lyfe, he neuer dyspayred.

What Marcus theemperour sayd to a Senatour as touchynge tryumphes .Cap. xxxv.



Whanne these feastes were passed as, Sertus Cheronense sayth, a senatour named Alunus sayde to theemperour, the same nyght that the tryumphe ceased: Sye reioyce you sythe that this daye ye haue gyuen so great ryches to the common treasure of Rome: and I haue sene your person in the tryumphe of glozie: and to the worlde to come of you and your house you haue lefte perpetuall memozye. The

A.iii.

empe-

emperor heyrng these wordes, said in this maner: I rede
 it is good reason we beleue, the huter knoweth the fiercnes
 of bestis, the phisition the proprettye of herbes, the mariner
 the perils and rockes, the capitaines the chances of warre,
 and the emperor that triumpheth, the ioyes that he hath
 of triumphes. As god helpe me, and as euer I haue
 part with my predecessours, and as euer I haue good for-
 tune, the thoughtes that I haue had for these feltes, haue
 bene farre greater than the feares that I haue had in all
 the iourneyes and battaylles afore. And the reason therof
 is very euident to theym that haue clere vnderstandynge:
 For alwayes in cruel battailes I was euer in hope to haue
 gloire, & feared not the ouerthrow of fortune. What coude
 I lose in battayle? Nothyng but the lyfe, that is the leest
 thyng that men haue, and alwayes in these triumphes I
 feare to lose renoume, whiche is the greatest gyfte that
 the goddes haue gyuen me. O howe happy is that man,
 that loseth his lyfe, and lacueth behynde hym perpetuall
 memoire: Lette euery man vnderstande this that wylle,
 and saye what they lyst: that amonge noble and valy-
 aunte barons, he dyeth not, that leeseeth his lyfe, and lea-
 ueth good renowne after hym: and moche lesse tyme ly-
 ueth he that hath an yll name, though he lyued many ye-
 res. The ancyeut phylosophers reckened not the lyfe of a
 man, thonghe he lyued many yeres, but they reckened the
 good werkes that he hadde doone. The senate was im-
 portune vppon me, that I shoulde take this triumph, as
 ye knowe well: and I can not tell whiche was greattste,
 theyr desyre or my resstence. you knowe not the trowth
 why I say thus. I dyd it not bycause of ambicion, and for
 couetousnes of gloire, but it was bycause I fere þe humain
 malyce. At the day of the triumph there was not so greate
 ioy shewed by the symple persons, but the hyd enuy was
 greater

greater among the greatest persons. This glory passeth
 in one day, but enuy abydeth a hole pere. The plentyfull
 realme of Egypt, so happy in the bloodshed of theyr enemies
 as in the waters of Nile, hadde a lawe immouable. They
 neuer denyed theyr mercy to the captiues overcome: nor
 they gaue no triumphe to theyr capytaynes ouercomers.
The Caldees mocke at the Romain triumphes, assey-
 myng how there is not gyuen so great chastysment to the
 capytayne of Egypte overcome, as the empire Romaine
 gyue to the ouercomer, whan triumphe is gyuen to hym.
 And surely the reason is good, for the thoughtfull capy-
 tayne, whanne he hath chased his ennemys, that Rome
 hath in straunge londes, with his owne propre speare, in
 payment for his trauaile they gyue hym ennemys in his
 owne propre londe. I sweare to you, that all the Romaine
 capytaynes haue not leste so many ennemys deed by sword,
 as they haue recovered yll wyllars the daye of theyr tri-
 umphes. Let vs leaue the Caldees, and speake we of our
 auntyent Romaines, whiche yf they myghte retozne now
 agayne into the worlde, they wolde rather be tyed faste
 to the charpottes as captiues, than to syt in them as byc-
 tours. And the cause is, theyr neyghbours seyng them go-
 inge as captiues, wolde moue theyr hartes to set them at
 liberte, so that the glorye of theyr triumphes is a meane to
 cause them to be persecuted and persued. I haue redde in
 wytyng, and herde of my predecessours, and haue seene of
 my neyghbours, that the aboundaunce of felicitie hath
 caused cruell enuie to be in many. O in what peryl are they
 that with particuler honoꝝ wold be exalted among other?
 In the mooste hygheste trees the force of wyndes is mooste
 aduanced. And in most sumptuous buydynge lyghte-
 ning and thunder dothe mooste hurte, and in greatte
 thicke and dyce busshes the fyers kendle mooste easelye:
 A

I say that in them that fortune hath reysed moſte hyghly, agaynſt them ſpzedeth the greateſte popſon of enuye. All ſuche as be vertuouſe ſay: The moe enemyes they ſubdue to the common welthe: the moe enuiouſ they recouer of theyr renoume. One ought to haue great compaſſion of a vertuouſe manne: bycauſe where he trauaileth to be good, there abydeſh one thyng in hym, of the whiche all onely at the deth he ſeeth the ende. And that is, the moe a man recouereth here renoume amonge ſtraungers, the moe he is persecuted with enuy amonge his owne nations. Homer ſheweth in his Illiades, that Caluitio kynge of the Argyues was expert in clergie, valiant in armes, and indued with diuers graces, beloued with his people, aboue all other he was a greate louer of his goddis and woꝛſhypper of theym. This good kynge had a cuſtome, that in all thynges that he had to do, he wolde fyrſte aſke counſayle in the temples of the goddes: he wolde begynne no warre agaynſte other, noꝝ ordeyne no newe lawe noꝝ cuſtome in his realme: noꝝ gyue aunſwere to the amballaours, noꝝ put no treſpaſours to death: noꝝ ſet no tribute on his people: but fyrſte he wolde go to the temple, and make dyuers ſacrifyces to knowe the wyll of the goddes. And bycauſe he went ſo often to the oracles, he was demaunded what anſwere the goddes made to hym in ſecrete, ſeynge he was ſo impoꝛtunate. Then he aunſwered and ſayd: I demaunde of the goddes, that they ſhulde not gyue me ſo lyttell, that euery man myght abate and ouercome me. Noꝝ alſo that they ſhulde gyue me ſo moche, that euery manne ſhoulde hate me, but my deſyre is to haue a meane eſtate, wherewith euery manne myght loue me. For I hadde leuer be felowe with many in loue, than to be kynge of all with hatred and enuy.

Of the great reproche that the emperour gaue
to his wyfe Faustyne and her doughter.

Capitu. xxxvi.



After the feastes of the triumphe afoze sayde,
this good emperour wyllynge to satisfye his
harte, and to aduertise Faustine his wyfe, &
to teche his innocēt doughter, without know-
ledge of any other, he sent for them and sayd:
I am not contēt Faustine, with that your doughter doth,
and yet lesse with that you do, which at her mother. These
maidens, for to be good maydens, ought well to knowe,
howe to obey theyr mothers. And the mothers to be good
mothers, ought to know how to bringe vp theyr chyldren.
The father is excused in gyuyng counsaile, yf the mother
be vertuous, and the doughter shamefast. It is a greatte
shame to the father, beyng a noble man, that his wyfe be-
ing a woman, shuld chastyse his sonne: And a great incon-
ueniēce of the mother, beyng a mother, that her doughter
shuld be chastised by the handes of her father. There was
a lawe ordeyned by the Rodiens, that the father with the
doughter, yf she had a mother, nor the mother with the
sonne, yf he were a man, shulde not entermedle eche with
other, but alonely men with men, and womē with women
ought to be brought vp. And the extremyte of the law was
such, that among them that dwelled in one house, seemed
that the fathers had no doughters, nor y mothers no son-
nes. O Rome, I wepe not to see thy streetes unpaued, nor
that ther is so many gutters in thy houses, nor that the ba-
tylmetes fal downe, nor the tymber hewed downe, nor for
the mynyshynge of thyne habitantes, for all this the tyme
byngeth, and the tyme beareth away: but I wepe for the
and wepe for the agayne, to see the vnpeopled of good fa-
thers.

thers, and unprouded in the nourtynge of theyr sonnes. Our countre began to faile vterly, whan the doctryne of sonnes and daughters was enlarged, and theyr byddel lette go at libertie. For there is nowe suche boldnesse in men chyldren, and so lyttell shamesfastnes in women, chyldren with the dishonestie of the mothers, that wher as one father suffred for .xx. sonnes, & one mother for .xxx. daughters, nowe .xx. fathers, scantly dare vndertake to bynge vp well one son, and .xxx. mothers one daughter. I say to you thus Faustyn, you remembre not how you as a mother, for you gyue more libertie to your daughter, thanne ought to be suffred. And you Lucyll remembre not, howe you are a daughter: For you shewe to haue more libertie, than requyeth for a yong mayden. The greattest gyfte that the goddys haue gyuen to the matrones of Rome is bycause they are women, they kepe themselfe close and secrete: & bycause they be Romans, they are shamesfast. The day, whan the women want the feare of the goddys secrete lye, and shame of men openly, beleue me, eyther they shall sayle the worlde, or the worlde them. The common welthe requyeth so great necessitie, that the women that dwelle therein, shulde be as honest, as the capptaynes be valiant. For the capptaynes going to warre, defende them, and the women that abyde at home, conserue them. As a .liii. yeres passed ye sawe the great pestilence, and I demanded then to haue a compt of the people, and I founde, that of a .C. xl. M. women well luyng. lxxx. M. dyed: And of .x. M. yll women, in maner they shaped all. I can not telle for whiche I shulde wepe, eyther for the lacke, that we haue of the good and vertuous women in our common welthe, or elles for the greuous hurthe and damage, that these yll and wycked women do to the pouthe of Rome. The fyre that byenneth in mounte Ethna, dothe not so greatte damage

mage to them that dwelle in Scythie, as one ylle woman
 both in the circuit of Rome. A fierse beast and a perillous,
 ennemie to the comon welth, is an yll woman: for she is of
 power to do moche harme, and is not apte to folowe any
 goodnesse. How many realmes and kynges rede we of,
 to be losse by the yll gouernaunce of women, and to resyste
 agaynst them hath ben nede of wysdome, peryls, money,
 force, and worthynes of many men. The vices in a womā
 is as a grene rede, that botweth euery waye: but the liber-
 tie and dysonestie is as a dyke kyr, that breaketh: in suche
 wise that the more yll they vter, the more vnlkely is the
 redyes therof agayn. Behold faustun, there is no creature
 that more despyeth honour, and worse kepeth it, than a wo-
 man. And that this is true, se by Justice, by orations, by
 wytyng, and other traauayles, manne getteth renoume:
 but (without it be by flatterynge and fayre spekyng) vn-
 to this houre, by anyke wytyng, we can rede of fewe wo-
 men or none, that epyther by wytyng, reabyng, workynge
 with nedell, spynnyng, or by weauyng, haue gotten them
 any great renoume. But as I saie of one, I saie of an o-
 ther. Certaynly of dyuers we rede, by keepynge them close
 in theyr houses, well occupped in theyr besynesses, tempe-
 rate in theyr wordes, faythful to theyr husbundes, well or-
 dered in theyr personnes, peassible with theyr neyghbours,
 and finally beyng honeste amonge theyr owne famlye,
 and chamefaste amonge straungers, suche haue attayned
 great renoume in theyr lyfe, and lefte eternall memoie of
 them after theyr death. I woll tel you an antike historie, as
 profitable to restreyne out vices, as it dyd than augment
 vertues, and it is this: The realme of Lacedemoniens (as
 Plato Metweth) was at a season more dissolute by the vn-
 chystnes of women, than infamed by the cruelte of men:
 so that of al maner nations they were called Barbariens.

What tyme Grece as a mother, called phillisophie of philo-
 sophers. Apgurge, a wyse philosopher in knowlege, and
 a ryght iuste kynge to gouerne, partely with his doctryne
 ryght profitable, and partely with his pure lyfe, made la-
 wes in the sayde realme, wherby he extirped all vices, and
 planted all vertues. I can not telle, whiche of these twoo
 were mooste happy, The kynge, haupnge so obedient peo-
 ple, or els the realme, to haue so rightfull a kynge. Amonge
 all other lawes, for women he made one greatly to be com-
 mended: He commanded, that the father that dyed, shulde
 gyue nothyng to his doughter. And an other, that neyther
 lyuynge nor dienge, he shuld gyue any money to mary her
 with: to the entent that none shulde marie her for her ry-
 ches, but all onely for her goodnes: and not for her beau-
 tie, but for her vertues. And where as now, some be vn-
 married, bycause they are pooze, so then they abode vnma-
 ried, bycause they were shamefulle and vicious. O tyme,
 woorthy to be despyed, whan maydens hoped nothyng to
 be married with theyr fathers goodes, but by the vertuou-
 werkes of theyr owne persons. This was the tyme, called
 the golden worlde: whan neyther the doughter feared to
 be disherited by the father in his lyfe, nor the father to dye
 soye for leauynge her without remedye at his deathe. O
 Rome, cursed be he that first brought golde into thy hous,
 and cursed be he, that fyrste began to hurde by treasure.
 Who hath made Rome to be so ryche of treasure, and soo
 poze of vertues? Who hath made menne wedde villaynes
 doughters, and leaue the doughters of senatours vnma-
 ried: what hath made, that the ryche mannes doughter is
 demanded vnylllynge, and þe doughter of a poze man none
 wyll despye: what hath caused, that one marieth a foole
 with fyue. C. marke, rather than a wyse woman with. x.
 O. vertues: Than I saye, that in this poynte the fleshe
 ban-

banquisheth the flesh, and er euer the vanitie of the ma-
 lice therof is vanquished. Howe cometh it, þ a couetous p=
 son wyll soner now adapes haue a wyfe, that is ryche and
 soule, than one that is pooze and fayre: O unhappp wo=
 men that bypuge forth chyldren, and moze unhappp be the
 doughters, that are bozne, whiche to haue them married, no
 hoze is set by the blodde of they? predecessours, no? the fa=
 uour, of they? frendes, no? the value of they? warkes, no?
 the beautie of they? persones, no? the clenncs of they? lyfe.
 O cursed world, where the doughter of a good man, with=
 out money, shall haue no mariage. But it was not wonte
 to be soo. for in the aunciente tyme, whan they treated of
 maryages, fyrste they spake of the persones, and after of
 the goodes: not as they doo at this houre, in this unhap=
 py tyme: for now they speake fyrste of goodes: and laste of
 all, of the persone. In the sayde golden worlde, fyrste they
 spake of the vertues, þ the person was endowed with, and
 whan they were maryed, in sportynge, they wolde speake
 of the goodes. Whan Camillo triumphed vpon the Gau-
 les or frenche men, he had then but one sonne, and he was
 suche one, that his person merited greate laudes. And for
 the renome of his father, dyuers kynges desyzed to haue
 hym to they? sonne: and dyuers senatours desyzed to haue
 hym to they? sonnes in lawe. This yonge manne, beyng
 of the age of .xxx. yeres, and the father at .lx. was impo=
 tunately spured by his naturalle frendes, and desyzed of
 strange kynges, for to marye hym: but alway the olde Ca=
 mill repugned the counsell of his frendes, & the importu=
 nite of the straungers. whan it was demaunded, why he
 determynd not vppon some maryage for his sonne, sythe
 therby shulde folowe the restefulle lyfe of the yonge man,
 and the quietnes of hym selfe in his aage, he answered:
 I wyll not mary my sonne, bycause sonne offer me ryche

R.iii.

Dough:

doughters, some noble of lpgnage, some yonge, and some
 fayre: but there is none hath sayde to me, I gyue you my
 vertuose doughter. Certaynly Camille merited to haue
 triumph, for that he dyd. And he deserued eternall memo-
 rie, for that he sayd. I say to you Faustine al these wordes
 bycause I se you lede your doughter to the Theatres and
 playes, and do byynge her into the Capytoll. you put her
 to the keppnge of the swerde players, you suffre her to se
 the tounblers, and yet ye doo not remembre, that she is
 yonge, and you not aged: ye go into the stretes withoute
 lycence, and playe by the ryuers. I fynd no vilanie therein,
 nor thynke that your doughter is yll: but I say it, bycause
 you gyue occaspon, that she shoulde not be good. Beware
 Faustine, neuer truste in the case of the fleshe of yonge peo-
 ple. For haue no confidence in olde folkes. For there is
 no better way, than to flee the occaspon of all thynges. For
 this entent the virgins vestales are closed vp betwene the
 walles, to eschewe the occaspons of open places, not to be
 moze lyght and foolyshe, but to be moze sadde and vertu-
 ous, fleyng occaspons. The yong Mal not say, I am yong
 and vertuous, nor the olde shall not say, I am olde & bro-
 ken. For of necessite, the dyce flaxe wyll byenne in the fyre:
 and the grene flagge smoke in the flamme. I saye, that a
 man beyng a diamonde enched amonge men, yet of ne-
 cessitie he ought to be quicke and mery amonge women.
 And as waxe melteth in the heate, we can not denye, that
 though the wodde be taken fro the fyre, and the ymbres
 quenched, yet neuer the les the stoness oftentyme remayne
 hote and byennynge. In lyke wise the fleshe, though it be
 chastised with hote & dyre maladies, or consumed by many
 yeres with trauayle, yet concupyscence abydeth still in the
 bones. What nede is it to blasen the vertues, & denye our
 naturallities? Certaynly there is not so croked a hoys, but

If he se a mare, he wyl buy ones or twyse. Ther is no mā
 so yong nor old, but let hym se yong dampsels, epyther he
 wyl gyue a spght or a wyshe. In all voluntary thynges
 I denie not, but that one may be vertuous: but in natu-
 rall thynges, I confesse euery man to be weake. Whan ye
 take the wood fro the fyre, it leueth brennyng: Whā somer
 cometh, the cold wynter ceaseth: whā the see is caulme, the
 watres leaue theyr behement mouyng: whan the sonne is
 sette, it beshyneth not the worlde. I wyl say that than, and
 not before, the fleshe wyl cesse to peyn vs, whan it is layd
 in the graue. Of the fleshe we are borne, and in the fleshe
 we lyue, and in the flesh we shall dye, and thereby it folo-
 weth, that our good lyfe shall sooner ende than our fleshe.
 Oftentymes some hollosme fleshe for meate corrupteth in
 an unholsome pottle: and good wyne somtyme sauoureth
 of the foyste. I say, though that the werkes of our lyfe be
 vertuous: yet shall we feale the stench of the weake fleshe.
 I say this Faustyn, syth age can not resyst the hote enter-
 pryse, howe can the tender membris of youth resyst it: pou
 bring the mother, without you go the right way, she being
 your doughter can not go the same way. The Romaine
 matrones, if they wyl nourish theyr doughters wel: ought
 to kepe these rules. Whan they se, that they wolde goo a-
 brode, than bryke theyr legges: and yf they wold be gasing
 than put out theyr eies, and yf they wyl harke, stoppe their
 eares: yf they wyl gyue or take, cut of theyr handes: yf they
 dare speke, sowe vp their mouthes: and yf they wyl entend
 any lyghenes, buryr them quicke. Wordes ought to be gy-
 uen to an yll doughter: and in stede of presentes and gys-
 tes at her wedding, gyue her wormes: and for her hous, a
 graue. Take hede Faustyne, yf pou wyl haue great ioy of
 your doughter, take fro her the occasyōs, wherby she shall
 be ylle. To vnder sette a hous, behoueth dyuers pottes:
 And

And yf principalles be taken awaye, hit wylle falle downe.
 I wyl tell you, womenne are so fraplle, that with ke-
 pers with greate payne, they can kepe them selfe: and for
 a small occasion, they wyl lose altogether. O how manye
 yll hath there ben, not bycause they wolde be so, but by
 cause they folowed suche occasyons, the whiche they
 ought to haue eschewed: It is for me to entre into this bat-
 taye, but yet it is not in me to attayne the victorie. It is
 for me to entre into the see, yet it lyeth not in my handes
 to escape the perylle. It is in the handes of a woman to
 entre into the occasyon, and after that she is therein, hit is
 not in her handes to deliuer her from faute.

Howe the emperour counsayled Faustyne, to eschue
 yll occasyons fro her doughter. Cap. xxxvii.



Peradventure Faustyne ye wyl say to me,
 that none may speke to your doughter Lu-
 cyllle, but yf you here hit: no: se her, but in
 your syghte, no: hyde her, but you knowe
 where: no: make none appointement, with-
 out your knowledge. And atte this houre
 you knowe not, that they that do hate her, and wold her yf
 what dishonoure they: tongues do speake of her. A newe
 loue in yonge bloudde in the spryngyng tyme and flou-
 shyng youthe, is a popson, that forthwith spreadeth in to
 euery vayne: It is an herbe, that by and by entreth the en-
 trayles: a swowning, that incontynently mortifieth al the
 membris, & a pestilence, that sleeth the hartes: and finally
 it maketh an ende of all vertues. I wote not what I saue
 yet, al though I know what I wyl say: For I wold ne-
 uer blasen loue with my tonge, without I were soze hurte
 in myn vnderstandyng. Ouyde sayth in his boke of the
 art

arte of loue. Loue is I wote not what: that commeth I
wote not whens: who sent it I wote not: it engendzeth I
wote not how: it is contented I wote not wherwith: it is
felte I wote not howe ofte, nor I wote not wherfoze. And
fynally loue taketh rote without breakynge of the fleshe
outwarde, or percinge the entrayles inwarde. I wote not
what Quide meanet hereby: but I trowe whan he saide
these wordes, he was as farre banysshed from hem selfe,
as I am at this tyme from my selfe. O Faustin, they that
loue together, shewe the signes of theyr hartes by dyuers
wayes, and in sleppnge they reason and speke: and by sy-
gnes they vnderstande eche other. The great voyce oute-
warde is sygne of lyttell loue inwarde: and the great in-
warde loue kepeth silence outwarde. The entrayles with-
in imbraced in loue, cause the tonge outwarde to be muet.
He that passeth his lyfe in loue, ought to haue his mouth
close. And to the entente that ye shall not thynke, that I
speake fabels, I wyll proue this by auncient hystories.

¶ Whe fynde aunciently, that in the yere. C. and. lx. af-
ter the foundation of Rome, Estrasco a yonge Romayne
that was dombe, And Teronne a fayre lady of the Latins,
that was dombe also. These two sawe eche other on the
mout Celyout at a feest, and there fel in loue eche with o-
ther. And their hartes were as sooze fixed in loue, as theyr
tonges were tyed fro wordes. It was a meruaylous thing
to se them, and fareful to note here. The yonge lady came
fro Salon to Rome: and he went fro Rome to Salon, by
the space of. xxx. yeres togyther without the wityng of any
persone, nor the two spake not. Than at the laste died the
husbande of the lady Teronne, and the wyfe of Estrasco,
and than they discovered their loue, and treated a mariage
betwene them, of whome descended the noble lygnage of
our Scipions: whiche were moze lyberalle in the seates
of

of atimes, than they; father and mother were in their tonges. Than I Austine marke this thyng: Lyttell aduantage it had ben to haue rut out the tonges of the two Domb folkes, to haue remedied their loue, and not to haue cutte out they; hartes.

¶ Also I shall telle you of Passinissa a worthy knyght of Ruinedie, and Sopharise a famous ladye of Carthage, al onely by one sight, as they sawe eche other on a ladder, he declared his desire vnto her: and she knowyng his lust, breakyng the oozes of feare, and lystyng by the ankers of shame, incontinent raised the sayles of they; hartes, and with the Myppes of their psons, they topned eche to other. Here may we gather, how the first sight of their eyes, and knowlege of they; persons, and the leage of they; hartes, and the mariage of they; bodies, & the perdition of they; estates, and the infamye of they; name, in one day, in one houre, in one moment, and in one steppe of a ladder were agreed. What wyl ye that I say more to this pourposer? Doye not knowe that Helayne the Greke, and Darps the Troyan, of two strange nations and of farre countreys, with one only syght in a temple, they; wylls were so knyt together, that he toke her as his captiue, and she aboode his prasoner. In Darps appered but smal force, and in her but lyttel resistance. So that in maner these two yonge psons, the one procuring to vanquyshe, and the other suffering to be vanquysed, Darps was cause of his fathers deathe: and Helayne of they; infamye of her husbände, and they bothe of they; owne deathes, losse to they; realmes, and sclaunder to all the worlde. All this loue caused one onely syght.

¶ Whan gerat kyng Alexander wold haue gyuen bataile to the Amazons, the quene capitayn of them no lesse fayre than stronge and vertuouse, came to a truer syde, and the
space

space of an houre eche of them beheld other with thynges without speakyng of any worde, and whan they retourned to their tentes, the fierynes was turned into swete wanton amorous wordes.

Whan Pyrrhe the faythefull defender of the Tarentynes, and renoumed kynge of Epirotos, was in Italpe, he came to Naples, and he had not ben there but one day, the same season there was a lady in the same citie named Gamalictice of a highe lygnage, and greatly esteemed in beautie: The very same day she was gotten with chylde and shamed through out all Italy, and was truste out of the citie, and after she was deliuered of chylde, she was slayne, by one of her owne byetherne.

Also Cleopatra in the prouince of Bithynye, in the wod Schyn, made a goodly banket or solempne feast to Marcus Anthonius her louer. And though she was not very honest, yet had she with her right chaste women: and thus the banket enduryng a great part of the nyghte, and the wod beynge thicke, the ponge damfels were not so wily to hyde them, but the ponge men Romayns founde them: so that of .lx. daughters of senatours .lv. were gotten with chylde among the thicke bushes: which thyng made a gret scandalze in the people, and augmented the infamy of Cleopatre, and minished the honestie of Marc Anthony.

Thus as I haue shewed of a smal nombze, I coude say of many other. All men are not men, nor all women be not women. I say it bycause I wode it shulde be sayde: let it touche them that it toucheth, and let them that can, vnderstande me. There is some shyppes, that are so lyghte, that they wyl sayle with a lytell wynde, and there be some milles that wyl grinde with a lyttel water. I saye there be some women so brittle, that as a glasse with a fyllop wyl bryke, and wyl stypp with a lytel myxe. Shewe me faulst,

S. II,

haue

haue you suffered your daughter to speake but with her vn-
 cles, and kept companie but with her cosins? I say in this
 case as moche willesse hath the mother as the daughter
 to renne in peryll. Do you not knowe, that the quicke fire
 doth not forbere the wood be it wete or drye, but in lykewyse
 it consumeth the harde stones? Doo you not knowe, that
 the hongre excessiue causeth beastes to deuour with theyr
 tethe the thyng that was bredde in theyr entrayles? Doo
 you not knowe, that the goddes made a lawe ouer all thin-
 ges: except on louers, bycause they may not abyde it? And
 doubtlesse it is ryghtwysely done, that Rome condemneth
 not these folyshe innocentes, bycause they haue none vn-
 derstandyng. The goddes gyue no peyn to amorous peo-
 ple, bycause they are depriued fro reason. ye knowe whan
 I was censure, there was a yonge woman that had a child
 by her owne father, and an other that had a chyld by her
 sonne, and a niese by her propre vncle: and there was sen-
 tence gyuen on them, that the fathers shulde be caste to the
 lyons, and the chyldren buried quicke, and the mothers
 were brynte in the campe of Mars. The mattier was soo
 horrible to here, that I myghte not endure to se the cursed
 men. And I commanded by my decrees, that none shulde
 be so bolde to speake in suche a case any moze. And yf this
 case were fearefull to men, than certaynely the Romayne
 matrones oughte to lyue chastyte. Than yf the fyre of the
 father doo chaunge the daughter, enflameth kynnsfolke, and
 bourneth theym selfe: ye maye be sicke, yf he fynde after ey-
 ther consyn or fayre sister, the flames of his concupiscence
 wyll not leaue to take holde on her for any parentage. If
 this riotous flethe wyll obey reason, than it maye be, that
 your daughter may speake liberally with her cosins: but
 syth that passion repugneth so moche at reason, I counsel
 you trust not to moche in her byetherne. you see by experi-
 ence

me: that the wyome that is byedde in the tymbre, eateth
 the same tymbre: and the moother that are byedde in the
 clothes, eateth the same clothe. I saye that sommetyme a
 man byngeth vp in his house some persone, that after ta-
 keth his lyfe fro hym. I Austine take this that I haue sayd
 for a warnyng, and these last wordes I gyue you for coun-
 cell, If you wyl kepe your selfe from thoughte, and your
 doughter fro peryll, alwaye let your doughter be occupied
 with some good werkes. Whan the handes are occupied
 with any good exercise, than the harte is boyde fro many
 yuell and bayne thoughtes. Euery lightnes done in youth
 breaketh downe a loope of the defence of our lyfe: but y-
 delnesse, wherby our enuye entreth, is it, whiche openeth
 the gate to al vices. I Austine wyl you wite: I se dayly the
 pardition of the yong Romayn doughters. For as sone as
 they be bozne, they presume to be amorous: they as vn-
 thoughtfull, with the sechelesnes of the father, and wan-
 tonnes of the mother, leaue the iust traouaile, and take vn-
 iust ydelnes. Of yuell motion and outragious thoughtes
 the eyes take licēce without leaue, the mynde altereth, and
 the wyl is hurte: and finally thynkyng to be the whyte,
 that amorous men shote at, they remayne as a butte ful of
 al vices. And in conclusion there is nothyng that moze re-
 chaceth the balke of the thought (in this playe) thanne the
 hande sette a worke therewith.

What thought Marcus the emperour toke for the
 maryage of his doughters. ca. xxxviii.

Ihan the good emperour Marc haupnge a clere
 vnderstandyng, and a quiete wyte, toke ryghte
 great hede of thynges that were passe, prudent-
 ly wayinge thynges present, & thynges to come.

S.iii.

Seyng

Seeing that the parrityon of princis, lay all in wyl, totally
 gyuinge them selfe eyther to strange thynges, forgettyng
 theyr owne, or els to entend to theyr owne, notyng regar-
 dyng strange thynges. His hart was so agreable to hym,
 that neyther the hyghe busynesses of them: nor for all the
 affayres of his house, he wolde not leaue one of them pry-
 viled. I say this, bycause this emperour Marcus had
 foure doughters, whose names were Lucille, Porcena,
 Marcyna and Domptia. All resembled theyr mother in ex-
 cellent beautie, but they resembled not theyr father in ho-
 nestie and vertuousnes. And though they were in gouer-
 nance vnder theyr maystresses out of his presence, yet he
 had them always in memoire: and the elder they were, the
 more study and thought he toke for them: and whan they
 came to cōplete age, he studied to fynd prouision for them.
 It was a laudable custome, that the doughters of the of-
 fycers of the Senate, shulde not marie withoute lycence,
 nor the emperours doughters without the aduysenient of
 the senate. Than it was so, that one of the sayd pryncesses
 his doughters, beyng of aeger, and of wyl to be maried,
 her father seynge her importuntye, to accomplishe her de-
 syre, bycause he was sycke, he sente for Faustine, that she
 shulde god and commune in the senate. The whyche with
 all her power she wylthode, bycause that secretly she had
 treated for an other maryage for her doughter. And open-
 ly she excused her selfe, sayinge, that her doughter was to
 yonge and tender of aeger: and as the goddys had gyuen
 age sufficiēt to the father, so had not the doughter of yeres.
 Whan the emperour vnderstode this, he called Faustine
 to his bedde syde, where as he lay, and sayd: Wyuers thyng-
 es are dyssembled in particuler persons, the least of them
 is not to be suffred in the that shuld ensigne all other: The
 pryncce is neuer well obeyed, but if he haue good credence
 amonge

among his people. I say this Faustin, because you do one thinge in secrete, and say an other openly, Here in sayleth the credence of so high a lady, and putteth inconuenience in the auctoritie of so great an empire. If ye suppose my good desyes be sinister in your hart for the welth of your stone chyliden: howe shulde we hope than in any of your good workes for the chyliden of straungers? It semeth to you better, to gyue your doughter to them that demand hir of the mother, and refuse them that the father doth chuse. Certainly because ye be a woman, you deserue pardon: but in that you are a mother, you augment your fault. Do you not knowe, that mariages are gyuded somme by fortune, and some by vertues and wysedome? Suche as deniande the doughters of the fathers, beleue me, they eyes beune moore vppon theyr owne propre vtilitie, than vppon the welth of an other. I knowe well, you bynge forth the chyliden, but the goddes will marp them, si the they haue endewed them with some euaplorous beautie. Doo you not knowe, that the beautie of women setteth straungers on desire, and putteth neyghbours in suspicion, to great men it gyueth force, to meane men enuye, to the parentes infamie, and peryll to the persone selfe. With great peyne it is kepte that is desired of many. Of trouthe I say the beautie of women is notryge but a sygne for ydell folke: and an erly wakynge for them that be lyghte: where as of the strange desyes lieth the renome of them self. And I deny not but that a light person fetcheth soner a woman with a faire face than one of honest liuynge. But I say, that a woman, that is married only for her beautie, may hope in her age to haue a sorrelife. It is an infallible reule, that she that was married for her fairnesse, is hated for her fowlenes. What trouble he offreth hym selfe vnto, that marryeth a fayre woman. It behoueth hym to suffice her pryde,

for beautie and folp al way go togyther. Also he must suffre her expences. For folpe in the heed, and beautie in the face bene two wormes, that fete the lyfe, and wasteth the goodes. Also he must suffre her pottes, for a fayre woman wyl that none but she haue her commaundementes in the house: Also he must suffre her nyce mynionnesse, for euery fayre woman wyl passe her lyfe in pleasure: Also he must suffre her presumption, for euery fayre woman wyl haue preeminence before all other. Finally he that marieth with a fayre woman, aparaileth hym to a ryght great aduēturer, and I shall tell you wherfore. Surely Carthage was neuer so enuyronned with Scipions, as the howse of a faire woman is with lyghte persones. O unhappye husbände, whan his spirite is at rest, and the body sleppng, than these lyght persons wyl come about his house, dnyng his body with ielousy, castyng the eyes to the wyndowes, scalpyng the walles with ladders, or clymmyng ouer, syngyng sweete songes, playeng on diuers instrumentes, watching at the gates, trectinge with haudes, vncoueryng the house, & wateryng at euery corner therof. All these thynges, in case they shote at the pycke of the womans beautie, they leue not to shote at the butte of the sorowfull husbändes good name. And whether this be true or not, reporte me to my self, that married me with your beautie: and let them wite of my renoume that go so aboute the cite. I say moche, but truely I fele more. No man complayneth of the goddes for gyfynge hym a fowle wyfe, amonge his deshenies. No hyndes peler is not broughte but in blacke pytche: and the tender tree is not conserued but by the harde rynde. I say the man that marieth a fowle wyfe, ledeth a sure lyfe, lette euery man chuse as he lysteth: and I say a man that marieth a fayre wyfe, casteth his good name at hasard, and putteth his lyfe in peryl. At the infamy of our predecessours gode

in none exercysynge of dedes of armes: and nowe all the
pastyme of the Romayne yowth is to serue ladies. Sohan
a woman is famed to be fayre, than euery man goeth thyr-
ther, and taketh great payne to serue her, and the women
woll be sene. I saye Faustine, you neuer sawe a yonge da-
moysele Romayne, greatly renoumed in beautie, but eithes
indeede or in suspicion there folowed som yll name of her.
In that lyttell that I haue redde, I haue harde of dyuers
fayre women, bothe of Grece, Italy, Parthe, and Rome:
and they be not put in remembraunce, bycause they were
fayre, but for the greatte perylls and heuy chaunces that
by theyr beauties felle in the worlde. For in maner by rea-
son of their excellent beauties they were vsited in theyr
owne landes: and by theyr infamy shamed throughe all
the worlde.

Sohan the realme of Carthage was flourysshynge in
ryches and happy in armes, they ruled the common welth
by wyle philosophers, and susteyned it by dyscrete armes
on the see. Arminius the philosopher was as greatly este-
med amonge them, as Homer amonge the grekes, or Ci-
cero amonge the Romaynes: he lyued in this worlde syre
score yeres and .ii. Of the whiche happy age. lxxx. yeres he
ruled quietly as a baron moste peasible of mynd: and was
as straunge to women, as familiar with his booke. Than
the senate seynge he was so broken with the comon welth,
and withdrawen from all naturalle recreations, they desi-
red hym with greate instaunce to be married, bycause that
memozy myght be had of so persytte a wyle man in tyme
to come: and the moze importunate they were the moze he
refused, and sayd, I wyl not be married: for yf she be foule,
I shall abhorre her: yf she be ryche, I muste suffre her: yf
she be pooze, I must maynteyn her: yf she be fayre, I must
take hede to her: yf she be a wyewe, I can not suffre her:
¶ and

and the leaste pestilence of all these, is sufficient to flee
 M. men. With suche wordes this wyle man excused hym
 selfe: and he in his aeye, by reason of his great study, losse
 his syghte. And the solytarines of his swete lyberties con-
 strayned hym to take company of a womā, and she had by
 him a doughter, of whom descended the noble Amilcarus
 of Carthage, cōpetitours of the Scipions of Rome, the
 whiche shewed no lesse worthynesse in defence of Carthage,
 than ours were fortunate to augment Rome.

Tell me Faustine, may not such suspicion fall vppon
 your doughters, though they vertue succour in the perill
 and they honestie assure they persons? I wyl dyscouer a
 secrete thynge to you. There is nothynge, that can be soo
 quykely commytted, yf a womanne be enuyronned with
 chaste keepers and feminine shamesfastnes. Stedfastly they
 despyre, and with great leysure they procure these thynges,
 that lyghtly may be attayned. There is nothynge soo cer-
 tayne, but that the welth of an other is matter for the owne
 euill. And Faustine ye knowe, that the moost honest wo-
 menne, by our malpce are mooste despyed. Certaynely they
 shamesfastnes and keepynge close, ben arrowes in defence of
 our honestie. We rede not that bludde, ryches, nor beautie
 of the vnhappy matrone Lucrece was the cause, that she
 was desired: But the clerenes of her visage, the grauitie of
 her person, the purenesse of her lyfe, the keepynge of hyr selfe
 close in her house, the exerceptie of her tyme, the credence
 amonge her neyghbours, and the great renoume that she
 hadde amonge straungers, waked the foolyshe Tarquime
 to commytte with her aduoultrye by force. What thynke
 you? Wherof came this? I shall shewe you. We that be
 yll, are so yll, that as yll we vse the goodnes of them that
 be good. This is no faute to the ladies of Rome, but ra-
 ther in the iunior tall goddis. They cleane honestie accu-
 seth

seth our cruel malice. Iustine, you say, your daughter is
 to ponge to be married. Do you not knowe, that the good
 father ought to endoctrine his sonnes fro theyr pong age:
 and to prouide for his daughters whiles they be ponge.
 Of a trouthe, yf the fathers be fathers, and the mothers
 mothers, as sone as the goddes haue gyuen them a dought
 er, forthwith they ought to fyre in theyr hartes a newe re-
 memb: aunce: and not for gette it, tyll they haue pronyded
 theyr doughter an husbnde. The fathers ought not to ta-
 ke for ryches, nor the moder for hygh lpgnage, the better to
 marie them: So what with the one & the other, the tyme
 passeth, and the daughters waxe aeged: and than after
 this maner they be to olde to be married: and to abyde a-
 lone, they be maydens: and to serue, they be women, they
 lye in peyne, the fathers in thought, the parentes in su-
 speccion, least they shuld be lost. O what great ladies haue
 I knowen, daughters of great senatours, and not for faue
 of ryches, nor of vertues in theyr persons, but all only for
 lacke of tyme, and dyspynge of one houre to an other, soo
 that at laste sodayn deeth came to the fathers, and no pro-
 uidence made for the daughters: So that in maner some
 were couered vnder the erthe after theyr deathe, and some
 buried with forgetfulnesse. Cyther I lye, or I haue redde
 in the lawe of the Rodiens, where as it is wyrtten, we com-
 maunde the father in mariege. .i. sonnes, to trauayle but
 one daye: but to marie oone vertuouse doughter, let hym
 trauayle. .i. yeres, yf & suffice the water come to the mouth,
 sweate dropes of blood, trauayle the stomake, disherite
 all his sonnes, lose his goodes, and aduenture his person.
 These wordes in this law were pitiefull for the doughters
 & not lesse greuous to the sonnes. For .i. sonnes by þ lawe
 of men are bound to discouer, & to go ouer al the world: but
 þ doughter, by þ good law ought not to go out of þ hous.

C.ii.

I say

I say moze ouer, that as thinges vnstable threte fallynge, so lyke wyse it chaunceth to yonge damselles, whiche thinke all theyr tyme losse and superfluous vnto the daye of theyr mariage. Homere sayth, it was the custome of ladies of Grece, to counte the yerres of theyr lyfe, not fro the tyme of theyr byrth, but from the tyme of theyr mariage. As yf one demaunded of a Grecian her age, she wolde aunswere .xx. yerres, yf it were. .xx. yerres syth she was married: though it were. .lx. yerres syth she was borne. Affirmyng after they hadde a house to gouerne and to commaunde, that day she begynneth to lyue. The Melon after it is ripe, and abydeth styll in the gardeyn, can not scape, but eyther rotteth, or elles must be gathered. I say the mayden that tarpyeth longe, tyll she be married, can not escape, eyther to be taken or infamed. I wyll say no moze. As soone as the grapes be ripe, it behoueth that they be gathered: so it is necessary, that the woman that is come to perfyte age, be married and kept. And the father, that doth this, casteth peryll out of his house, and byngeth hym selfe out of thoughte, and contenteth well his doughter.

Of a sykkenes wherof the emperour died, of his age, and where he dyed. cap. xxxix.



Marcus the Emperour beyng olde, not onely by age, but by trauayle and great paynes that he had taken and suffred in warres. In the .xviii. yere of his empyre, and. .lxii. yere of his age, and of the foundation of Rome. .vi. C. and. .xl. as he was in Danomy, now called Hungarie, with his hoste, and Commode his sonne, at a citie called Venedobone, situate vpon a ryuer, that had. .iiii. M. fyve houses and beyng in wynter, and the waters great, & very weate
wether

whether, he beinge in the fieldes about the .xxx. day of December: sodaynly vpon a nyghte as he wente with lanternes about his campe, there toke hym a syckenes or palsey in one of his armes, so that he coude not weld his speare, nor yet drawe his swerde, nor put on his owne clothes. Than this good emperour charged with yeres, and with noo lesse thoughtes, and wyputer increasynge with manye great snowes, and fressynge of the erthe, there selle on him an other malady called Lptarge, the whiche put the Barbariens in great hardines, and his hoste in greatte heuy-nes, his persons in peryll, and his frendes in great suspect of his helthe. There was done to hym all the experience that coude be founde by medicins as vnto great pryncis and lordes is accustomed. And all dyd hym no profyte: by reason the maladye was greuous, and the emperour charged with yeres, and the ayre of the lande was contrarye to hym, and the tyme helped hym notynge: and also he was not well intended. And as men of wo:shyppe do sette moze by theyr honour than by theyr lyues, and had rather dye with honour, thanne lyue dishonoured, to assure theyr honour, they aduenture euery houre theyr lyues, and had leauer haue one hour of honour, than a .C. yeres of lyfe: So thus this sicke emperour, caused hym selfe to be bozne all about his campe, and went to see the scarmyshe, and wold slepe in the feldes: the which was not without great peryll of his lyfe, nor without great tauaplle of his person. Thus on a day the emperour, beinge in a great feuer and letten bloudde, harde a great clamour or noyse in the fælde: made by his men that had brought home great quantitie of fozeage, and theyr ennemies sette on theym, to rescue it: there was medlynge on bothe parties, the one to beare a way, and the other to defende: The Romaynes for hungrye, dyd what they coude, to beare it a waye: And the

Hungaryens fro whence it came, made resistance: They medled so one with an other, and they debate was so cruell, that there was slayne. v. capitaynes of the Romaynes, the worst of them was more worthe, than all the fourage that they had won. And of the Hungariens were so many slayne, that all the fourage that they had losse, was not so moche worth. Certainly consydering the crueltie that was there done, the profyte that came therby, was very small to the Romayns, so that there went but a fewe awaye with the fourage, & of the Hungariens fewer was lefte to make resistance. The emperour seynge the yll order, and that by the reason of his bloudde lettynge and feuer, he was not present at that acte, he toke suche a heupnes at his harte, wherby he fell into suche a traunce, that it was thought he had ben deade: and so he lay. iiii. nyghtes and two dayes, that he coude se no lyght of the skye, nor speake to any persone. The heate of his sykkenes was greatte, and his paynes greatter, he dranke moche and eate lyttelle, he coulde not slepe, his face was yelow, and his mouth blacke. Somtyme he lyfted bp his eyes, & oftentimes ioynded his handes together: He spake nothynge, and syghed many tymes. His throte was soo drye, that he coulde not spytte: his eyes were verie soore with sobbynge and wepynge. It was greatte compassyon to see his deathe, and a greatte plage of confusyon to his howse, and also the very greatte losse of his warre. There durste no manne looke vpon hym, and fewe speake to hym. Danutius his Secretary, sorowynge at his harte, to see his mayster so nere his dethe, on a nyght in the presence of dyuers other that were there, he sayde to hym.

The wordes of Danutius his secretary to the emperour at the houre of his deathe, Cap. xl.

D Mar.



Marcus my lord, there is no tongue that can
 be still, nor any harte suffice, nor eyes dissimule,
 nor wytte that can permytte it. My bloudd
 congeleth, and my sinewes dye, the stones ope-
 nethe, and my soule wolde passe forth: the
 ioyntes vniopne asonder, and my spirites are troubled, by-
 cause you take not the wyse and sage counsell, the whiche
 ye gaue to other that were simple. I see you my lord dye,
 and I oughte for to be soore displeased therewith. The so-
 rowe that I fele at my harte is, how you haue lyued lyke a
 wyse persone, and at this houre you do lyke a simple man.
 Tenne pere a knyght gyueth meate to his horse, to thentēt
 that he shulde kepe hym from peryll: and all that the wyse
 man studieth for a longe season, oughte to be to passe his
 lyfe with honour, and to take his death with great vertue.
 Knyght dere lord, I demaunde of you, what prouffyte is it
 to the mariner to knowe the carde of the see, and after to
 peryshe in a tourment or tempest? What prouffyte is it
 to a capitayne, to speake moche of warre, and after knowe
 not howe to gyue battayle? What profyteth it to a knyght,
 to haue a good horse, and to falle in the strete? What pro-
 fyteth it one to teache an other the playne waye, and hym
 selfe to wander asyde? I save, what profyted it the force of
 your lyfe, that you esteemed so lyttelle, many tymes see-
 kyng your deathe? And at this present howe, that you
 haue founde deathe, you wepe, bycause it wyl take awaye
 your lyfe? What thynges haue I wyten with myne owne
 hande, beyng your Secretarpe, dyspersed by your hyghe
 and profounde vnderstandynge, touchynge the stocke of
 deathe? What thyng was it to se the letter, that you sent
 Claudine vpon the deathe of her husbander? What wrote
 you to Anthygone, whan your sonne Nerissimus dyede?
 Wherin your vertue dydde console his heuynesse. what
 bygh

highe thynges dyd I wyte in the boke that you sent to the
 Senate, in the yere of the great pestylence: comfortynge
 them after the great mortalitie passed: therein you dydde
 shewe theym, howe lyttell men shulde sette by deth, & what
 profyte foloweth therby. And I haue seene and harde you
 blason deth in your lyfe, and nowe you wepe, as though
 you shulde lyue here still. Wyth that the goddis comande
 it, and your age requyeth it, & your sykkes is the cause,
 and nature permytteth it, and fortune consenteth to it, and
 is the fatall destenie of vs all, than you muste nedes dye.
 The trauayles that come of necessitie, ought with a good
 courage to be abyden. For the couragious feeleth nat soo
 soze the harde strokes, as the weake that falleth, or he be
 foughten with. you are but one man, and not two: and
 ye ought to haue oone deathe and not two. Therfore why
 wolde ye for one lyfe haue two dethes, enterrynge the bo-
 dy, and sleynge the spirite with syghes? After so many pe-
 rylles of longe lyfe to take a sure porte, wyl ye lyfte by the
 sayles, and entre agayne into the swalowe of the see, for to
 engloutte you? In the see you haue chased the bulle, and
 scaped his woodnes, and nowe ye refuse to entre into the
 parke, where you maye surely flee hym. you make assaute
 with victorie of your lyfe, and wyl dye attaynyng the deth.
 you haue foughte. lxiij. yeres in the campe of myserie, and
 nowe you feare to entre into your sculchre: you haue got
 out of the busshes and thornes, wherin you were closed:
 and nowe at this houre you stamble in the saye waye: you
 haue had in certayne the domage of your death: and nowe
 ye put in double the profyte of your death: you are entred
 into the campe of despenge of the worlde: and nowe you
 wolde tourne your backe, whan it is tyme to putte your
 handes to armes. Lxiiij. yere you haue foughte agaynste
 fortune: and nowe you cloose your eyes, bycause fortune
 wyl

wyl strike you. I say it, bycause that willyngly you refuse
 this present dethe, the whiche wyl cause vs, to haue your
 lyfe passed suspect. what do you, hygh and myghty prince?
 why wepe you like a chylde? & why sygh you, as one in dy-
 spaire? if you wepe, bicause ye shal die, why dyd you laugh
 so moche in your lyfe tyme? For of moche laughynge in
 the lyfe tyme, cometh moche wepyng at the deth. wyl you
 do that you can not do, and not be content with that you
 may do. The grounde and pasture, that is common, you
 wolde iopne to your owne, the renowme of the common
 welthe you applyed to your owne heritage. Of a subsidy
 or loue, you wolde make your perpetuall ryghte. I wylle
 shewe you who be deed. All be deed and shal dye. And a-
 monge all other you wolde all onely lyue. wyl ye haue
 that of the goddes, that they be goddis for? That is, by-
 cause you are mortall, that they make you immortall. And
 you to haue that by priuilege, whiche they haue by nature.
 I that am but symple, demaunde one thyng of you my
 lord, that are auncient and wyse: whiche is the greatestte
 or least welthe, to dye well or lyue yll? To lyue welle noo
 man can attayne certaynele, for hungre, thyrst, solitarines,
 persecution, yll fortune, sycknesse, and disfauours. This
 can be called no lyfe, but rather a deth. If an ancient man
 wolde make a shewe and booste of his lyfe, from the tyme
 of his byrthe, to the layenge in his graue, and the bodye
 to shewe all that it hath suffred by dolours, and the harte
 to discouer all the strokes of fortune. I thynke, that the
 goddis wolde haue maruayle therof, and men wolde be
 abashed therof, that the body coude suffre soo moche, and
 the harte beare it. I holde the Grekes wisest, whiche wepe,
 whan they; chyliden are bozne, and they synge, whan an
 olde man dyeth; but the Romaynes synge at the byrthe of
 they; chyliden, and wepe whan they dye olde. Certaynly

to laughe at the deth of them, that die olde, sith they dye to
 laugh: and to wepe at the byrth of chyldren, syth they are
 bozne to wepe, and that the lyfe abydeth the sentence of pl,
 proueth well, that the deathe is good. Wyl you, that
 I saye one veritie to you? I haue alwayes seene, that cos-
 sell in the wyssest man, sonest sayleth hym. Such as wolde
 gouerne al thinges; by theyr opiniōs, of necessitie in some,
 or in the most parte, they do erre and faple. O Marc my
 dere lord, wene you, that haue caused to burye soo ma-
 ny, that some shulde not burye you in lyke wyse? And you
 haue seene the ende of theyr dayes, so other shal se the ende
 of your yeres. Therfore me semeth, it were better for you
 to dye, and to go your waye, to attepne soo moche welthe,
 than to scape, and to lyue in so moche mysery. If you sele
 deathe, I haue no meruayle, sythe you be a man. But I
 meruayle, that you do not dissimule it, sythe you are dys-
 crete. They that haue clere vnderstandynge, feelee many
 thynges at theyr harte, that putteth them to peyne, which
 they shewe not outwarde, for the presumption of honour.
 If al the poyson, that is in a heuy harte, were spred abrode
 in the weake fleshe by smalle greynes, noo walles shulde
 suffyse vs to rubbe, noz our nayles to scratche. For certain-
 ly the deathe is but a playe, wherin the player, if he be apt,
 aduentureth but lyttell, to wyne moche: and they that
 play, may se wel, that this is a wply play, and not a strong.
 And that also, as well they lese, that haue but a small card,
 not fearynge dethe, as they, that with a gratte earde, loue
 long lyfe. What thyng is deth, but a trappe doze, wherin
 the tent is closed, in the whiche is solde, all the miseries of
 our lyfe. This the goddis do change vs, fro an olde filthy
 house, into a newe. And what other thyng is the sepulchre,
 but a castelle, wherin we be closed agaynst the assautes of
 the lyfe. Of trouth you ought moze to couete, to take that
 you

you find at your deth, than the hurte of that you shall leue in your lyfe. I demaunde of you, what it is that dothe you most payne, in lesyng of the lyfe? If you peyn your self, for Helie I abize your wyfe, bycause you leaue her yonge, we ry not your self, for she is wel thought on in Rome, for any peryll of your lyfe. And as sone as she knoweth it, I am in certayne, she wyll not wepe moche, though you go your way. Thā you ought not to wepe, for leuyng of her. These yonge damoyfels, married to olde men, haue euer theyr eyes fixed in the deth of theyr husbādes. And holly fasten their hartes on hym, that they thynk, to mary with ageyn. They wepe with theyr eyes, & laughe in theyr hartes. And thinke not contrary, though she be an emperesse, and can not fynde an other emperour, to be her husbāde, yet she wyll fynde some other man. For yf they be so determyned, they wyll change theyr robes of sylke, for a gowne of clothe. I dare well saye, they more desyre a yonge sheparde, than an olde emperour. If you care for your chyldren, whome ye muste leaue behinde you: I can not tell, why you shuld do so. For if your deth be displeasante to them, moch more displeaseth them, yf you lyue so longe. It is great payn to the child, not to desire the deth of his father: For yf he be pooer, it is for feare, how they shuld be maynteyned: yf he be ryche, then by cause he shal be his heire. They synge & you wepe, you fere the deth, & wepe, bycause you leaue your life. Do you not know, yf after the night cometh the dewy moornyng: & after yf cometh the bygght son: & after yf son cometh a derk cloud, and after ageyn cometh faire wether, & after that cometh lightnyng & thonder: & than agayn clere ayre? Also I say, that after infancie, cometh chyldhode, thā cometh youth, & age after that, and so at laste cometh deth, and after dethe, fearefull hope, of a sure lyfe. Sir, beleue me, in one thyng. The beginning, the meane, and the ende every man hath.

A.ii.

Cer:

Certaynly, yf you had ben take as the floure fro the herbe: if you had ben cut grene fro the tree, yf you had ben grafed in pymentyme: if you had ben eaten in the sowernes of the vyne: I meane, if in the fyrste youthe, whan lyfe was at the sweetest, if dethe had come and knocked at the gate, ye shulde haue had cause to be sozpy: but as now, the walles are weake and redye to falle, and the floure wythered, and the berry putrified, the speare full of mosse, and canne not drawe the knyfe out of the sheethe. Herein you haue desired the worlde, as yf you had neuer knowen the worlde. Lxii. yere you haue ben prisoner in the dongeon of the body: & now whan the shakles or gyues shulde be taken from you, you complayne: you lozde wold make newe of other newes. He that thinketh it not sufficient, to lyue. lxi. yeres in this dethe, or to dye in this lyfe, he wyll not be content with thye scoze thousande.

CAuguste the Emperour sayde, that after that men had lyued. l. yeres, they ought to dye, or els cause them selfe to be slayne, bycause that vnto that tyme, is the felicitye of man. He that lyueth beyonde that tyme, passeth his tyme in heuynesse, in greuous aches, deathe of his chylderne, and losse of his goodes, in importunities of his chyldren in lawe, burpence of his frendes, susteynyng procelle, payenge of dettes, and other infinite trauayles: So that it were better, with his eyes cloosed to abyde theym in his graue, thanne with his eyes open, to abyde theym in his lyfe dayes. Certaynly it is a fortune of all fortunes, and he is ryght pryncie with the goddes, that at. l. yere, leaueth his lyfe. For al the time that he liueth after, is in decaying and neuer bypyght, but roll yng, relynge, and redy to fall. **O** Marc my dere lozde, do you not know, that by the same way, that lyfe gothe, cometh dethe. It is. lxi. yere that ye haue soughte the one from the other. And whan ye wento
fro

to Rome, where as you leste your howse, ye wente to Al-
 brike, where you leste a greate pestylence: and nowe you
 are retourned into Hungarie. Do you not knowe, that as
 soone as you were bozne, to gouerne the erthe, incontinent
 therhe issued out of his sepulchre, to fynde your lyfe: And
 if you haue honored ambassadours of the straunge kyn-
 ges, moche moze ye oughte to honour deathe, that cometh
 fro the goddis. What lordshyp can be lost in this lyfe, but
 you shal fynde greater in the death. Are you not remem-
 bryed, whan Vulcan my sone in lawe poysoned me, bycause
 he despyred my goodes moze than my lyfe, howe you, my
 lord, for loue that you had to me, gaue me comfote and
 counsell, for the deeth of my sorowfull youth: and you sayd
 to me, the goddis were cruell, in kyllynge of them that be
 yonge, and pitiefull, whan they burie theym that be olde.
 And also you sayde to me, Comfote thy selfe Panutius:
 for yf thou dydst lyue to dye, now than thou dyest to lyue.
 Therfore ryght hygh and myghty prince, I say to you, as
 you sayd to me: and I counsaile you, as you counsailed
 me, and that you gaue me, I gyue you agayne. Fynally,
 of this reppnge, take the best in woꝛthe, & let the rest abide.

How the emperour demanded to haue in wyting, al that
 the Secreatarie had sayde. Cap. xli.



And as of the contentynge of the wylle, often-
 tymes procedeth helthe and ease of the body
 the emperour was well satisfied with the woꝛ-
 des of Panutius, whiche he eloquently utte-
 red, and with profounde counsell, hardily and
 familiarly, and in due tyme, as a good frende. Great con-
 passyon it is, to them that wold dye, whā it is shewed them
 what they ought to do. For of them that be about the bed,
 U.iii. some

some robbe hym of his money, some se rue hym welle,
some holde the place, to be his heire, some gape for gyftes,
some wepe for losynge of hym, some laugh for the gay-
nes they haue by his death, and so in this maner the poore
patient, haunynge many, lokynge for they; profyte, hath no
body to counsel hym. We se dayly, that seruantes, whā they
se the going out of the cādel of lyfe, care not for the clesing
of they; lordes byces. And therof cometh, that as sone as
he is deed, streight way begynneth to stynke. And so I say
that the ende of his lyfe, is the begynnynge of his infamy.
All they that were there, as well the olde seruauntes as the
newe, belongynge to the emperour, capptaynes of warre, &
other, were not a lytell abashed, of the sayenge of Panu-
tius, and they all allowed his sayenge; and sayde, he was
worthy to haue the gouernaunce of the empire. The good
emperour, all the season that Panutius spake, wept with
depe sighes fro his harte. And bycause he was so soze gre-
ued, he coude not forthwith gyue hym an answer: At the
laste he commanded Panutius, to giue hym in writynge, al
that he had sayd, to the intent that he myght studie thereon.
For he said, it was no reaso, to forget thynges so well said.
So all the rest of that night, the Secretarie occupied hym
selfe, to put in writynge the same sayenge: and the nexte day
he deliuered it to the emperour, whiche toke it, and looked
theron all the daye: and kept it still on his handes, & often
tymes redde thereon. And the nexte nyght the emperour sent
for the Secretarie, & in open audience he said, as foloweth

The answer of the emperour to Panutius. ca. xlii.

Happy was the mylke, that thou suckedst in Dacie, &
the bread þ thou diddest eate at Rome, & the lernynge,
that thou haddest in Athenes, and thy bynngynge vp in my
houys.

thou. For in my lyfe, thou hast well serued me, and at my
dethe, thou hast well counsayled me. I commaunde Com-
modus my sonne, to rewarde the for thy good seruice. And
I pray the goddis, to recompence the for thy counsel. The
reward for diuers seruices a man may make: but þe reward
for good coucel, all the goddis haue nede to do. The grettest
reward, that one frend may do to an other, is in a great &
weightie matter, to succour hym with good coucel. All the
trauayles of the worlde are weightie, but the trauaylle of
deth is the weightiest: all be perillous, but that is mooste
perillous: al ben great, but this is the greatest: al thinges
haue an ende at last by deth, saue only deth, whose ende is
vnknowen. He that is hurte with deth, is as he þat is sicke of
the sleppynge euill, hauing a quicke vnderstandynge, & yet he
knoweth no man: & many thinges beynge offered to hym,
he can determine vpon none. yet agayne I say, he is a true
and saythfull frende, that in suche tyme, wil giue good cou-
sel to his frend. All they that here this, that I say, wyl say,
that it is true. But I swaie, that noo man can knowe it
perfytely, but he that is in case, that I am in, redye to dye.
Lxi. yere hath ben the cours of my lyfe, and nowe deathe
commaundeth me, to close myne eyes, & to folowe the cours
of deth. Howeuer, as thou knewest not the infyrmite, so
thou approchest not to the cure and helthe. The dolour is
not there, as thou hast made defensiues, it is not the fistu-
la, where against thou hast giuen cautere, it is not against
opilations, that thou hast giuen siropes, it is not in þe bey-
nes, þe thou hast giuen me incision: Thou hast not wel he-
led the wounde, that thou hast stitched me. I say, that thou
muste entre further in me, to knowe perfytely myne accesse.
The sighes that procede fro the botom of my hart, can not
be vnderstanden with herynge of them: the goddis alonly
know þe thoughtes of þe hart. Also diuers thinges are in me
that

MARCVS

that I knowe not of my selfe, noo moze than that is with-
out me, O Panutius, thou accusest me that I feare death,
To feare it greatly, I deny it : but I confesse to feare it as
a man. Of trowth, yf I shuld say, that I feare not death, I
muste deny, that I am not made of fleshe. We se, that the
Olyphant feareth the lyon, and the beare feareth the oly-
phant, and the wolfe feareth the beare, and the Shepe fea-
reth the wolfe, and the ratte the catte, and the catte the
dogge, and the dogge the man, and all onely they feare
is, that they dꝛede to be slayne. Than if these brute beastes
refuse deeth, not fearynge the fyghtynge with furious spi-
rites, noꝝ the entoyenge with the goddes : Howe moche
rather oughte we to feare the deathe : For we are in feare
to be toꝛne in pieces with the furies in theyꝝ peynes, oꝝ to
be receyued in pleasure with the goddes. Therfoze I sape,
that the naturall feare of deathe, I haue ouercome with
the byrdell and lyberties of reason. Thinkest thou Panu-
tius, that I see not my grasse wasted, and my grapes ga-
thered, that my house breaketh, and that I haue nothyng
lefte, but the stocke of the grapes, the skynne of the flesshe,
and but one onely blaste of all my lyfe : Thou seeeste well,
that by the tokens, the exercyse is sene. And nettes be caste
in the riuers, and in the parkes bulles bene chased. I sape
that the rumour of deathe holdeth in sauetic the lyfe that
is in me, at this houre redy armed agaynst dethe. I make
batayle with deathe, at this houre batayne and naked of
lyfe : and so redy to entre into the sepulchꝛe : at this houre
I shall entre in to the campe, where as I shall not be go-
red with bulles, but shall be eaten with wormes : and fy-
nally, I shal go, from whens I can not flee. Thus I hope
abydꝛyng deeth. And this I say, bycause thou shalt knowe,
that I knowe it, and that thou shalt fele, that I fele. And
to the entent thou lyue vnbegyled, I wyll tell the a secrete.

The

secrete. The nouelties, that thou hast sene in me, as in ab-
 horrynge of meate, bereuyng of slepe, liuyng alone, we-
 ryng of company, downyng in syghes, and pastyme in
 weppng. Thou mayste well thinke, what turment oughte
 to be in the see of my harte, whan suche tremblynges and
 motions of erthe and reynes are set in the erthe of my bo-
 dy. Shal I shew the, wherfore my body is in this thought
 and my harte in suche trouble? The cause why I suffre
 deth so greuously, is that I leue my sonne Commode
 in this lyfe, in a perillous age for hym, and suspicious for
 themppre. By the floures the frutes are knowen, and the
 vines in burgenyng: by the colt the horse is knowen, whe-
 ther he shalbe meke or stubborne for labour or cartage: and
 in the youthe the yonge man is knowen: and by the lyttell
 that I se in my lyfe by my sonne Commode, I feare me, it
 wyl be lesse after my deth. Thou knowest not, why I saye
 thus. And I saye it not without cause: for my sonne Com-
 mode is very yonge, and yet yonger in wytt. He is of an
 ill inclination, but he be forced: he gouerneth hym selfe by
 his owne wytt and vnderstandyng, as though he were
 a man of experience: he knoweth but lyttelle, and carethe
 for nothyng. Of the tyme passed he hath no knowledge:
 all onely he occupieth hym selfe with the tyme present. Fi-
 nally, by that I se with myn eyes, and thynke in my harte,
 I feare me the personne of my sonne shall be in peryll, and
 the memoire of his fathers howse peryllhe. Faustyne his
 mother hath fostred hym to delycatel: and by a harde sto-
 ny grounde he hath a great waye to go. He entreth as now
 alone into the pathe of youth without any guyde. I feare
 me he shall goo out of the ryght waye, and wander in the
 bushes and thornes of vices. O Panutius, harken what
 I say, I say it not without teares, thou seest that my sonne
 remaineth ryche, yonge, and at libertie. Riches youthe

solitarie, and libertie ben. liii. pestilences, that enpoysone the pynce, and waste the common welthe: hit sleethe them that be alpye, & infameth them that be deed. Beleue me one thyng, dyuers graces are requisite to susteyne diuers vertues. With the fayrest women the brothell houses are peopled, the mooste vilaynes are made ruffiens: the mooste hardye are robbers in woddes: the quyckeste of vnderstandynge ofte proue fooles: and the mooste subtylle becom theues. I say, that such as are clothed with dyuers graces of nature, lacke the fures of acquyred vertues. We may say, they hold in theyr handes a knyfe, wherwith they stryke and hurte them selues: fire on theyr sholders, wherwith they bren: and a corde about theyr necke, wherwith they hange: daggers at theyr stomacke, wherwith they are slayne: thornes at theyr feete, wherwith they are pricked: a stony waye afore theyr eyes, where they stamble, and stomblyng fall, and fallynge they lese theyr lyfe, and wyne dethe. The great trees of whom we haue fruyte in wynter, and shadowe in sommer, fyrst be planted the rotes faste in the entrayles of the erthe, or euer theyr wauerynge boughes are aduentured in the wynde. Marke Danutus marke well. The man that from his yowth hath set before hym the feare of the goddes, and the shame of men, is habited in vertues, & he that accompanieth with theym that be vertuous, maynteyneth trowth to euery man, and liueth without prejudice of any man. Malitious fortune maye somtyme cleue the barke of the welthe of suche a tree, wyther the floure in his yowthe, breake the leaues of his fauour, gather the fruyte of his trauaylle, breake downe a bough of his offyces, & bowe downe the heygth of his counsell: yet for all the strokes that the wynde can strike, it can not be plucked vp by the rote. Certaynely the sonne that the father hath endued with graces, and the sonne appilenge

enge hym in byces, ought not to be bozne in this worlde: & if he be bozne, to be bucyed quicke. For the fathers sweate by day, and watche by nyght, to leue honour to theyr chyl- dren, whiche the fathers bye of the goddis with syghes, & the mothers delyuered of them with peyne, and brynge the by with trauayle: and the chylde proueth so, that he giueth greuous age to the father in his lyfe, & great infamy after his death. I consyder wel, that the prince Comode, beyng yonge and folde, agaynste his wyl, forbare vices, & I fere me, that after my deth, he wyl hate vertues. I remembre di- uers of his age, haue inherited the empyre, whiche were so hardy in theyr lyues, that they deserued to be called tyran- tes after theyr dethes. Exaple of Denys, renoumed tyrant of Syccill, whiche hired theym that coude inuente vices, as our Rome rewardeth them that conquere realmes. What greater tyranny can be in a tyrant, than to make most pri- uie to him, the that be vicious: Also I forget not the foure kinges, that succeded after great Alexander, as Ptholome Anthioc⁹, Silui⁹, & Antigonus. whiche the Grekes called great titantis: all that Alexander had gotten so renoumed triumphes, they lost by theyr viciousnes. And in this maner the world þ Alexander had deuided amonge them. iiii. came to the handes of mo than foure. C. for Antigon⁹ set so litle by that had cost his lord Alexāder so moch, & was so lighte in his age, & so bolde in his realme, þ in mockerie in þ stede of a crowne of golde, he ware a garlande of Iule: & in stede of a scepter, he bare a thystle in his ryght hande: and after that maner, he wolde syt amonge his men, & whan he spake to strangers. I lay shame to the yonge man so to do, but I meruayle, that the sadde and wyse men of grece suffred it. I remembre also Caligula the. iiii. emperor of Rome, a yonge man, in whose tyme it was harde to knowe, whi- che was the greater, eyther the disobedience of the people

E. ii,

to their

to theyr loyde, or the hatred, that the loyde bare to the people. And this yonge prince went so farre oute of the waye in his yowthe, and was so farre wyde frome reason in his tyrannies, that euery man studied, howe to take his lyfe from hym: & he studied to see euery man. He wrote these wordes in a table of golde: Wolde to god, that all Rome hadde but one heed, to the entente that with one stroke, I myghte stryke it of.

Also remembre Tyberie, sonne adoptiue of good. Auguste, called August, bycause he augmented Rome. But this good olde prince dyd not so moche augmente it in his lyfe, but this yonge successour destroyed it moche more after his deathe. The hate that the Romayne people had agaynste Tyberie in his lyfe, was ryght welle shewed after his deathe. For the same daye that he dyed, or whan he was slayne, the people made diuers processions, and the senators offred great gyftes in the temples, and the priestes offred gret sacrifices to their goddis, to the entent that they shoulde not receyue the soule of the sayd Tyberie into their glozie: but to sende it to the furies of Hell.

Also I mynde Patrocle, the seconde kynge of Corynthe, whiche enherited the realme, beyng but. xvi. yere of age, and he was so veyong of his body, and so lyberall of his mouth, that where as his father helde the realme. li. yere, he possessed it but. xxx. dayes.

Also the auncient Tarquin the proude, the. vii. kynge of Rome, whiche was ryghte godly in gesture, ryghte valyaunt in armes, and of a cleane bloudde, as an unhappye prince, defiled all his vertues with noughtye lypynge: in suche wyse, that he conuerted his beautie into lechery, his power into tyranny, for the villany that he dyd to Lucrece, the chaste lady of Rome, wherby he lost not onely his realme, but the name of Tarquine was banyshted for euer

out of Rome.

I remembre cruelle Nero, whiche inherited, and dyed
 ponge: & in hym ended the memorie of the noble Cesars:
 and by hym was renewed the memorie of Antigones the
 tyrantes. Whom thynkest thou this tyrant wolde suffre to
 lyue, whiche slewe his owne mother? Tell me I praye the,
 what harte is that of a chylde, to see his owne mother, to
 open the brestes that he sucked, to shedde the blood of her
 that nourysed hym in her armes, and to beholde the en-
 trayles, wherin he was fourmed? What thynkest thou,
 that he wolde not haue done, sithe he commytted suche an
 yll dede? The day that Nero slewe his mother, an oratour
 sayde in the senate, that Agripppe his mother had deser-
 ued deth, for chyldeinge suche a chylde in Rome. These thre
 dayes, that thou haste sene me so altered in my mynde, all
 these thynges came befoze me: and I haue drawen theym
 into the depenes of my harte, and disputed theym. This
 sonne of myne holdeth me in the gulfe of the see, betwene
 the wawes of feare, and the ankers of dyspayre, hoppnge,
 that he shoulde be good, bycause I haue nourysed hym
 well, and fearynge, that he shoulde be ylle, bycause his mo-
 ther Faustyne hath brought hym vppre wantonly, and the
 ponge man is inclined to yll. And as ye see a thyng made
 by artifice peryshe, and a naturall thyng laste: I am in
 great feare, that after my dethe, he wylle tourne that waye,
 that his mother hath chyldeed hym, and not as I haue no-
 urysed hym. O how happp were I, yf I had neuer a child,
 to leue behynde me to be emperour: Then a chylde myght
 be chosen amonge children of good fathers, and I shoulde
 not haue ben troubled with hym, that the goddes haue gy-
 uen me. Panutius, I demaunde one thyng of the, whe-
 ther thou callest mooste fortunat, Vaspasian the naturalle
 father of Domitian, or els Nerua, the father adoptyue of

E.iii.

Tras-

Crallan: Vaspasian was good, and Actua very good, and Domitian was of all other mooste cruelle, and Crapan the myrrour of all clemency. Thā regard, how Vaspasian in the fortune to haue chylde was unhapp, and Actua in the mysfortune to haue chylde was happ. I knowe not why these fathers desyre to haue chylde, sith they ben the occasion of so moche trauayle. O Panutius, I wyl say one thyng to the, as a frende to a frende (as thou knewest wel we be in thys worlde) I haue lyued. lxxi. yeres, in whiche tyme I haue redde many thynges, and haue hard, sene, desyred, attemped, possessed, suffred, and rested moch, and now at this tyme I must dye: and of al thyng I shal beare nothyng away, bycause bothe it and I are nothyng. Great besines the hart hath to serche for these goodes, and great trauayle to come to them: but wythout comparison the greatest dolour is at the houre of the dethe, to depart and leaue them. What greater disease can be to the body, than sondaynely to be surprysed with ennemyes: What peryll of the see, or losse of frendes, can be egall, to se a vertuous man drawe to his deathe, to leaue the sweate of hys face, the auctoritie of the empire, the honour of hys person, the company of hys frendes, the remedye of hys detours, the rewardyng of his seruantes: and to leaue it to a chylde, that hath not merited it, nor hath not the power to wyl to merite it.

In the. ix. table of the lawes were these wordis wrytten: We commaunde and ordeyne, that euery father, who in the opinion of all men is good, shall dysheryte his sonne, that is yll in euery mans opinion. Also euery chylde, what so euer he be, that disobeyeth hys father, or robbeth any temple, or hurt any wydowe, so that she blede, flee fro the batayle, or do any treason to a stranger, who so euer is found in any of these fyue cases, lette hym be banyshe for euer
the

the habitation of Rome and caste out fro the herpytage of
hys father.

In good soth this lawe was good, and in the tyme of
Quintus Cincinate, hit was ordeyned, and now by vs,
whiche be vnhappy, it is cleane lefte and forgotten. Pa-
nutius without doubte I am wery to speake, and also I
haue suche an impediment in my stomacke, that I wante
byethe: or elles I coulde shewe the all by order, yf myne
vnderstandynge fayled me not, howe manye Parthiens,
Mediens, Assiriens, Caldiens, Indiens, Egypciens,
Hebrewes, Grekes, and Romaynes, haue lefte theyr chyld-
ren pooze, and myght haue lefte them ryche: and all was
bycause they were vicious: and other chyldren that were
bery pooze, were lefte ryche, bycause they were good and
vertuous. I swere to the by the immortall goddes, that
whan I came fro the warres betwene the Parthiens and
Rome, and that the triumphe and glozie was gyuen to
me, and my sonne confirmed to be emperour: I wolde
the Senate hadde lefte me my sonne Commodus pooze,
with all his vices, and that I hadde made the Senate
heire and lorde to the empire: and to haue chastised hym to
the exaumples of all the worlde. I wyl that thou knowe,
I shall carie fyue thynges with me out of this worlde in-
termedled, the whiche is greate sorowe to my harte. The
fyyste is, that I haue not determined and iudged the plee
and processe of the noble wydowe Druisia, with the Se-
nate, seinge that she is very pooze, and hath noo bodye to
doo her Iustyce: The seconde is, bycause I doo not dye in
Rome, to the intente that I myghte cause to be cryed and
proclaymed euery where in Rome, er I dyed, to wytte if a-
ny complayned on me: the thyrde is, that where as I dyd
see .xiiii. tyrantes that vndyd the countreye, that I hadde
not as well banysched all the Pirates that kepte the sees:
the

the fourth is, that I lefte my dere sonne Verissimus deed:
and the. v. that I haue lefte alpye, as heyre to the empyre,
my sonne Commodus. O Panutius, the greattest happe,
that the goddes can gyue to a man (not couetous but ver-
tuouse) is to gyue hym renoume in his lyfe, & a good heire
to conserue hym after his deathe. Finally to conclude, I
praye to the goddes, yf I shall haue any parte with theym,
that if by my sonnes offences, Rome be scandzeth, and my
renoume minished, and my hous losse by his lyfe, that they
wyll take away his lyfe yet or I dye.

What the mperour sayde to the maysters of his sonne,
and to the rulers of the empyre. Capi. llii.



See you auncient fathers and noble Ro-
mapns, and ryght faythfull seruauntes
take payne and sorowe, for that I muste
yelde me to dethe, and leaue this lyfe,
and treate with my sepulchre. ye sorowe
for my sorowe, ye are tourmented with
myn angursh, & payned for my payne:
it is no meruaylle. For the clere vnderstandynge of the
pure blod of true and faythful frendes, is to double theyr
trauayles, and to wepe for other: yf one byute beast moyne
for an other, moch more ought one humayne creature to so-
rowe for an other, And this I saye, bycause I know by the
teares of your eyes, the felynge of your hartes. And sythe
that the greattest rewarde for any benefite, is to knowe it,
and thanke the patie therof: as moche as I can, I thanke
you. And yf my weake thanks be not correspondente to
your pitiefulle wepyng, I requyre the goddes, after they
haue taken awaye my lyfe, to rewarde you for my duetie.
It is greate pleasure for the familie to knowe theyr may-
ster

her go with the goddis, and greatt peyne to hym to leaue
 them. For company of many yeres is loth to leaue the lyfe.
 In my lyfe tyme I haue done with you as I ought to do,
 and as now I muste do as I may. The goddes wll take
 my soule away, Commodus my sonne the empyre, the sepul
 chre my bodye, and ye my specyall frendes my harte. And
 sothly it is reason, that syth ye were in the lyfe my hartes,
 that it be yours after my deth. And in that I wll speake
 moze particular this night shall be our reasonnyng. Now
 my hartly frendes ye se, that I am come to the ende of my
 laste iourney, and to the begynnynge of my fyrste iourney
 with the goddis. It is reason, that syth I haue loued you
 in tyme past, that ye beleue me now. For the tyme is come
 that ye can demaunde nothyng of me: no, I haue nothing
 to offere you: no, myn eares as now can not here flatteries,
 no, my harte suffre importunities: yf ye neuer knewe me,
 knowe me now. I haue ben he that I am, and am he that
 hath ben, in tynes paste lyke vnto you, somewhat: now
 ye se I am but lyttell, and within a lyttell whyle I shall be
 nothyng. This daye shall ende the lyfe of Marke your
 frende, this daye shall ende the lyfe of Marc your parente,
 this daye shall ende the fatall destenies of Marc your lord,
 this daye shall ende the seignory of Marke your emperour.
 and this daye shall ende his empyre. I haue vanquysht
 many, and now I am ouercome with deth: I am he that
 hath caused many to dye, and I can not as nowe gyue my
 selfe one daye of lyfe: I am he that hath entred into cha
 riottes of golde and this daye I shall be layde on a biere
 of wodde: I am he, for whome many haue songe meryly,
 and this daye they wepe: I am he that hath had company
 in all exercites, and this daye I shall be gyuen to hungrye
 woymes: I am Marcus greatly renoumed, that with fa
 mous triumphe mounted into the high capytolle, and this
 X daye

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day with forgetfulnes I shall discende into the sepulchre. I see nigh with myn eies, that was farre hyd in my harte. And as the goddes be fauourable to you in this worlde, & equalle and fauourable to me in an other worlde, as my fleshe neuer toke pleasure to passe this lyfe, but my harte was sodaynly taken with the feare of death: than take no payne for me, for eyther I muste see the ende of you, or you of me. I yelde great thanks to the goddis, that they take awaye this olde persone to reste with them, and leaue you yonge for to serue in the myppye. For there is no comparyson for to speake of death to the lyfe, nor to eschewe the deathe at the houre therof. And yet I wyl not denye, but I do feare deeth, as a mortall man. Whan the lyfe passeth, there is no prudence in a prudence, nor vertue in a vertuous, nor lordshipp in a lorde, that can take awaye the feare of the spirite, nor payne of the fleshe. Atte this tyme the soule and the fleshe are so combyned and so conglutinate togyther, and the spiryte with the bloude are soo annexed, that the seperation of the one from the other is the mooste terrible, and the laste terrible of all terriblenes. Certaynly it accordeth vnto good reason, that the soule departe dolorously, leaupnge the fleshe vnto wormes, and the bodie as enuious to se the soule go and spoyle with the goddis. What lytell thoughte we take in this lyfe, vntylle we falle grouelynge with oure eies vppon deathe. Beleue me, Sythe I haue passed from whens ye be, and haue experimented that ye doo se, that is the vanities of vs that are vayne, is so agreable to vs, that whanne we begynne too lyue, we ymagyne that oure lyfe wylle endure a holle worlde: and whanne it is ended, it seemeth vs to be but a puffe or a blaste of wynde. And bycause than sensualitytie payneth for sensibilitie, and the fleshe for the fleshe, reason guyded with them that be mortall telleth me, that it payneth

perneth not with the departinge. If I haue lyued as a brute beast, it is reason that I dye a discrete man oughte to do. I dyenge this day shal dye all my syckenesse, hungre shal dye, colde shal dye, al my paynes shal dye, my thought shal dye, my displeasure shal dye, and euery thyng that gyueth payne and sorowe. This day the nyght shal be taken awaye, and the sonne shyne bryght in the skye: This daye the ruste shal be taken from myne eyes, and I shal see the sonne clerely: This daye the waye shal be made smothe for to goo ryghte: this is, the daye shal ende the iourney, wherein I shal not drede the staves of Fortune. I thanke the goddes immortall, that haue suffred me to lyue so clerely, and soo longe a tyme. This daye I shal haue an ende of all vnhappy destenes of enuyous fortune, and not they of me. Of trouthe yf the goddis haue commaunded my fleshe to be hydden in the sepulchre, and to be as mortalle: yet yf they be iuste and doo well, they wyl make my renoume to be immortall, bycause I haue lyued well. Than syth I change this wery lyfe and company of meyne, for the swetenes of the goddis, and the doubtes of fortune for this sure lyfe, and greate and continuall feare for perpetuall peace, and this ylle and naughty corrupte lyfe for good renoume and glorie, I thynke verily this shuld be none yll change.

It is nowe thre scoze and two yeres sythe the erthe hath susceyued and fedde the erthe of my bodye: It is nowe tyme that the erthe knowledg me for her sonne, and I wyl also take her for my mother. Verely it is a pitiful mother, that wyl nowe take me into her entraples for ever, sythe that I haue soo longe space troden her vnder my feete. And yet thoughe that I were as I am, for to be as she is, I am in certayne that she wolde kepe me surer amonge her wormes, than Rome amonge the Senatours.

Y.ii.

And

And all though it be peynefull to you, yf it please the goddes to haue it thus, no mā can excuse nor scape it. I shuld be ryght well eased, if this webbe were broken, and my possession taken in the Sepulcre. Than shulde I haue the fyrit thyng propre of myn owne, and perpetuall without any feare of lesynge therof. All thynges mortall, that mortalle folkes haue, and the enuye of them that be enuyous maye be broken, except the deth and the sepulcre, the whiche are priuiledged from entaged hongre of enuy. I sepon wel, shedynge teres from your eyes, and reyse heuy sighes frome the depenes of your hartes. Wylle ye not that I shulde desyre deathe, sith the phisitions gyue me but thre houres of lyfe: and there are conteyned in me. iiii. dayes of peynes, the length wherof is a cyronisme of deathe. And all though our debplyte be weake, yet for all that our honour is so sensible, that at the houre of deathe, the more that the bones dischargeth them of the fleshe, the more is the hart charged with thoughtes. In maner that whan the sinewes vntie them from the bones of the bodye, than newely they tye agayne a soore knotte to the harte. Nowe let vs leaue speakynge of that that touchethe particularly my selfe, and speake we in generall of it that is conueniente to a yonge prince, and to you that are his tutours and mapsters.

¶ Ye se here my sonne Comodus onely prince and heyre abydynge for the heritage of the empyre: neyther for beyng good, that he meriteth prayse, nor for beyng yll represser. For he hath taken his naturallitie of the goddes, and his nurture amonge you. Dyuers tymes whan he was a chylde, ye toke hym in your armes, to thentente that nowe he is a man, ye shulde sette hym in your hartes. Hitherto he hath taken you for his mapsters: and nowe at this tyme, he muste repute you as his fathers. And whyles I lyued, ye held

helde hym foꝝ your pꝛince in nourtshypnge hym, foꝝ your
 emperour in seruyng hym, and as your parent in helpyng
 hym, and as your sonne in teachyng hym. Hytherto ye
 onely helde hym charge, as father, mother, and maysters:
 he is now as a newe shyppe put this daye into the ryghte
 see, fletyng to the botomles swolowe, where as the sayles
 of prosperitie wyll make hym falle, and the rockes of un-
 happynes, wyll dꝛowne hym. Than amonge so many un-
 fortunate wyndes and vnstable waters, there is greatte
 necessitie of good oozes. Surely I am very soꝝ foꝝ them-
 pꝛe, and haue great compassyon of this yonge pꝛince, and
 suche as wolde his welthe, shall moꝝe bewaylle his lyfe
 than my dethe. Foꝝ scapyng fro the see I se my selfe at a
 good sure poꝛte, and vppon mayne lande, and leaue hym
 the sweatte and trauayle. Foꝝ as yet he knoweth not howe
 to aduenture to sayle on the see: noꝝ yet knoweth not whe-
 ther he shall abyde the age of my longe experience, noꝝ whe-
 ther he shall be a reasonable emperour oꝝ noo. But what
 shall soꝝowfull Rome no, whan it hath nourtshed a good
 pꝛince, and that fatall destenyes maketh an ende of hym:
 oꝝ that by enuye of them that be yll he is slayne: oꝝ the cru-
 eltie of the goddes taketh hym awaye: oꝝ that the body by
 his owne pꝛopꝛe handes be lyfte vp in suche wyse, that in
 the experiment of pꝛinces, al the lyfe tyme parteth in beway-
 lyng of the youth of yonge pꝛinces, and the grauitie of
 theyꝝ aunciente pꝛinces passed. O yf these pꝛinces beleued
 at the begynnyng of theyꝝ empire, other kynges that are
 sayled in the world, howe they be taught when it is so un-
 poꝛtable foꝝ one man without charge to rule soo many re-
 almes, and he doyng nothyng but take theyꝝ goodes,
 robbe hym of his renoume, banyshe theyꝝ persons fro him,
 and he to ende his lyfe, and his subiectes augmente theyꝝ
 soꝝowes: and sith he is but one, he can doo no moꝝe than
 y .iii. one,

one, though dyuers hope that he doth for all. Regarde in
 what my saduenture a pynce lyueth, whan the least villain
 in Italy thynketh, that all only for hym and on hym alone
 the pynce setteth his eies. And syth the worlde is so chan-
 geable, and the people so vnruly, the daye that a pynce is
 crowned and eralted with a sceptre ryalle, the same daye
 he submytteth his goodes to the couetouse, & all his estate
 to the semblaunce of other. Thus than in this the goddes
 shewe theyr power. For all the vnderstandinges are tacked
 to one free wyll. The sempnge of all they condempne, and
 allowe but one. They gyue the domination to one, and the
 subiection to many. To one they gyue the chastysmente
 of all, and not al to the chastysment of one. For the tast of
 many, they gyue meate but to one: the sauour wherof is
 swete to some, and sowre to other: to some remayneth the
 bone, and to some the fleshe: at the laste some be drownded &
 other be hyndred, & at the ende all haue an ende. I wolde de-
 mand of you that be moste familiar, what is the crowne of
 thempyre, or the sceptre of golde, or the coler of perles or p-
 ciouse stones, or rubes of Alexander, or vessell of Corinth, or
 chariottes of triuph, or what offices of Consules or Dicta-
 tours are desired in chande of theyr rest: for it is certaine,
 they can not attayn to the one, without lesyng of the other.
 And this is the cause why there be yll mariners, & to hardy pi-
 lottes, for they flee fro the see to the lande, & fro the land to
 the see. One thing I wil say, & is ageinst my self: euery mā
 hateth warre, & no man seketh for peace. Al sorowe for one
 that is angred, and none is cōtent to appeace: all wolde cō-
 mande, but none wyll be cōmaunded. This hath ben in the
 world passed, & now at this present tyme men be so light, &
 they rather chose to cōmand with peryl, than to obey with
 reste. Seyng that my dayes are diminished, & my syckenes
 augmented, suspecting than that I se nowe, whan I retur-
 ned

ned fro the water of Syccill, I determyned to make my te-
 stament, the whiche ye may see here: Open and beholde it,
 and therby ye shall se, howe I leaue you to be maysters of
 my son, yet in loue and fidelitie ye be to gyther all as one.
 Great peryll the pynce is in, and the common welth in an
 yll aduenture, where as be many intentions amonge the
 gouernours. Certaynly the pyncis are gloypous, and the
 people well fortunat, and the senate happy, whan all a-
 gree in one counsell, and that the counsaylers be quincient,
 and many of them, and all they? intencions agree vpon one
 thyng. Whan this was in Rome, it was feared and dred
 of tyrantes, haupnge they? consultations approued with
 iii. C. barons. And though they? reasons were diuers, yet
 they? wylles and intentis were all one for the comon welth.
 I desyre and coniure you by the goddis, that ye be all fren-
 des in conuersation, and conformable in counsell. All the
 weake debilities in a pynce may be suffred, except yll coun-
 sell: and all defaultes of counsellours are tollerable, except
 enuy and pze. Whan the fretting woyme called a mothe, en-
 treth among them, it causeth peril in Iustice, dishonour to
 the pynce, sclaunder in the comons, and parcialitie in the
 superiours. The counsaylour that hath his mynde ouer-
 come with pze, and his harte occupied with enuy, and his
 wordes outragious to a good man, it is reason that he lose
 the fauour of the goddes, his pziuitie with the pynce, and
 the credence of the people. For he pzesumeth to offende the
 goddis with yll intention, to serue the pynce with yll cou-
 sell, and to offende the common welth with his ambition.
 O howe ignozant are these pyncis, that take hede of suche
 herbes & venims that myghte popson theym in they? mea-
 tes, and care not for the popson that they of they? pziupe
 counsayle do gyue them: Doubtles there is no compariso,
 for the herbes and popsons can be gyuen but on one daye:
 but

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but the benym of yll counscyle is gyuen euery howe. The
nym is defended by the hoine of an vnicoine, by tryacle
and otherwise by vomites: but the popson of yll counsell
hath no remedy, and lesse defensiuies. And fynally I saie
that the benym gyuen by an enemy can but flee one empe-
rour in Rome, but the popson gyuen by hym that is moſte
priue to euill counsell, fleeth the emperour, and destroy-
eth the common welthe. And where as euery vertuous
prince setteth moze by perpetuall renoume than this falli-
bly lyfe, ye beyng gouernours of thempyre, and maysters
to my sonne, they that owe hym yll wyl haue not so moche
power ouer his lyfe, as ye haue vpon his renoume. There-
fore yf he be awaked by his enemies straungers, moche ra-
ther he ought to be awaked amonge his domesticall fren-
des. One thyng I commaunde as to my seruantes, and
I desyre you as my frendes, that ye shewe not your selfe
so priue openly, as ye be in secrete: to thentente that some
seme not as naturall sonnes, and other as hired seruautes.
He that is vertuous ought to haue great regarde to the
profyte of his lorde secretely, and to be meke of conuersa-
tion with euery man openly, els his priuetic wyl not longe
endure, and the hate of the prince with the people wyl in-
crease. Oftentimes I haue redde of our predeceſſours,
and I haue sene it in the present Romaynes, whan many
holde with one, that one holdeth but lyttell with dyuers,
and lesse with many, the which kepeth theyr wylles as far
of, as the persons be nygh. And syth the ylnes of the tyme,
and vnstablenes of fortune neuer leauethe any thyng in
one case, but all is as in maner of a dreame: the moſte sure
purchase is to flee fro peryll, for then whā the princes haue
passed their pleasures entremedled in trauayles, they see-
che for many, and fynde not one. Therof cometh, that one
present, for feare wyl withdraue hym, and an other out of
fauour

far our and absence, wyl not come. I wyl shewe you one
 thyng, the whiche you shal alwaye see in my sonnes me-
 morie: They that in our trauayles haue detremyned of a
 long season to apply them, we ought to wryte they good
 wylles. The wylly labourer in one yere labouryth to gette
 cornes to gether, and in an other yere he soweth and gathe-
 ryth. Be not to presumptuous, for the presumption of an
 auncient prince, forsooth the auctoritie of the yonge prince:
 yet for all this dispaire no; rebuke hym not to moche: For
 the lacke of maners in the state of a lorde engendryth vn-
 thamefastnes in hym, and boldnes to the seruant. I haue
 lefte in my testament the prince Commodus for your sonne,
 and you for his fathers. But I wyl and commande, that
 euery man knowlege him to be they lord, and to be at his
 commaundemente. And ye my other seruantes and subie-
 ctes to be in his obedience, and in all his highe busynesses
 to be wel guyded as his frendes and louers. Justice ought
 to be sene so, by wise oratours, accordeyng to the opinion
 of you that be his gouernours. And alway the determina-
 tion to be doone by the prynce, whiche is lorde of all. One
 counsell I wyl geue you (and if you finde it yll, blame me
 afore the goddes) wherby the empire of my sonne shal be
 stable and permanent in Rome, and your pryncie sure in
 his house, if your counsellors be moued by reason, and his
 wyl ruled by your counsels. I desyre soe that ye be not
 couetous: and therfore I haue gyuen you dyuers gyftes
 and thankes in my lyfe, to take couetousnes frome you a
 fore my deythe. It were a monstrous thyng and very dyed-
 full, that suche as oughte to restryne couetyse fro straun-
 gers, to haue they owne handes open for their owne pro-
 pte lucre. The vertuous prynces men, oughte not to doo al
 the yll that they may, nor to desyre all that they may attayne
 vnto, to the intente that the prince geue them soo moche
 goodes

goodis for the profite of their howles, as pepyne and enuy
 of the people to their persones. And as in meane shippes
 men scape best in a meane se, sooner than in great car-
 racks in the waues of the coynges and impituous fers: in
 lyke wyse suche as be in meane estate among them that be
 but meanly enuious, lyue more surely, than such as are set
 in high estate and prynces being ryche, to be passioned a-
 monge enemies, that disdainfully wold put them vnder.
 It is a notable rule amonge wyse men, and an infallible
 experience amonge them that be good, and I thynke that
 by herynge therof the pll shall knowlege it: The gloire of
 one amonge great men maketh stryfe, suspicion in them
 that be egall, and enuy amonge them that be meane. One
 thinge, that they that gouerne well, ought to haue, is ly-
 beralitie. The lesse ye be couetous, the more ye shall be libe-
 rall. For with the rage of couetousnes the ryght of iustice
 is mynished. It is longe tyme syth I determined to geue
 you the gouernynge of the mynre, and the nourysshinge of
 my sonne. And to haue prouided to haue gyven you large-
 ly of my goodes, to put the couetynges of other mens goo-
 des from you. I warrant you one thyng: If couetousnes
 be amonge you, and be enuyed of your neyghbours, you
 shall lyue in pepyne, and your hartes shall be pyned with
 other mens busynesses, and your myndes shall be euer in
 suspecte. Than shall ye folowe the Justice of other, where
 as ye shall se your owne propre welth. One counsel finally I
 wyl geue you, which I haue taken alway my selfe. Neuer
 comytte your honours to the myshappes of fortune: nor
 neuer offer your selfe to peopl with hope of remedye. For
 suspicious fortune kepeth alwayes her gates wyde open
 for peopl and her walles ben highe, and her wyckettes na-
 rowe to fynd any remedye. And because I fele my selfe so
 trouayled, I praye you suffer me to rest a litle.

Howe

When the emperor at the house of his death, sent for his
sonne, and declared to him, who shoulde go
to rule the Empire, cap. xliii.

Thus a great parte of the nyght passed, and the
day began to breake, and the life of this good
emperor began fast to drawe to an ende: yet
for al that he left not the remembrance of such
thinges as shoulde be ordered after his deathe.
There were that tyme in the warre with him diuers right
excellent men senators of Rome: and in al thinges he be-
wed him selfe right wise, & specially he wold neuer haue a-
ny vicious person in his house. He hadde euer in his com-
pany, & gentillmen & knyghtes, and in eche of them he might
haue put trust to gouerne Rome. Oftentimes this good
emperor wold say, that princis lpyed more surely with
the gadryng to them men of good lpyng & conuersation,
thā with treasure of money stufed in their thestes. Unhap-
py is þe prince, that esteemeth hym selfe happye to haue his
coffers ful of treasure, and his counsell full of men of ill
pyng. These malicious and ill men make princis podye:
and a perfyte man suffyleth to make a holle realme ryche.
Surely this emperor sayde well. For we do se daily, that
what the father hath gotten in fifty yeres, the sonne loseth
in halfe a yere. Than chusinge amonge many a fewe, and
of fewe to take the best, this emperor appoynted out. vi.
notable barons: Thre of the to be maisters of his son, & iii.
to be gouernours of the empire. One was called Martius,
whiche after was emperor: an other was called Pompe-
iano, husband to his daughter, as sure in counsell as he was
aged in yeres: The.iii. Gneo Patrocle of the ancient stock
of the Pompeies, whiche was no lesse cleane in his liuing
than his heare were white: The.iiii. was called Andrusco,
Z. ii. whiche

which in goodlynes of his gesture, highnes of bodye, vertue of courage, and wylsome in conscience, none was equal to him in Rome: The .v. was named Bononius, whiche at that tyme was consule, and in the aunciente lawes very expert: The last was called Iuan Marius, the good, and he was called the good, bycause that in .lx. yere neuer man sawe hym do any yll workes, nor harde hym speake any ydel worde, nor do any thyng but it was profitable to the common welthe. Though in case they were all egall in gouernynge: yet I say these laste thre were princypall. For Iuan Marius perticularly was left to be chiefe captayne of the armys, and to hym was deliuered all the treasure, and the testament was put into his handes: and with sore weping the emperour recommended to him the prince his sonne. Than when the pynne of his sicknes encreased, and that he looked for the houre of his deth, he commanded to awake his sonne Commodus, whiche without any care was faste a slepe, and when he was brought into the presence of his father, it was greatte pittie to se the eyen of the olde emperour soore discoloured with wepyng, and the eyes of the sonne almonste closed with slepyng: the sonne was wakynge with small thoughte, and the father coulde not slepe for great thoughte and payne. And when he was in his presence, seing the lyttell care that the sonne toke for the deth of his father, and consideringe the great desire of the father for the good lyfe of his sonne, it moued to pittie the hartes of al the great lordes that were there, noo lesse to leaue the company of the good old man, than the annoyance of the dealynge of the yonge prince. Than the emperour sayde to his sonne these wordes.

What the emperour sayde to his sonne at the houre of his deathe. Ca. xlv.

Unto

Neto the matres and my goodfathers I thanke
 theye shalbe they shall counsell the: and nowe
 my sonne at this houre I say to the, howe they
 (though they be but a fewe) all for the alone
 shal governe: and it is not to be taken in smal
 estimation. The moost easie thinge in the worlde is to
 give counsell to an other: and the moost hardest and best
 thinge is a man to take it for him selfe. There is none so
 simple a man but he may give good counsell, though there
 be no neede. And there is none so wise that will refuse coun-
 cell in tyme of necessitie. I leaue thyng that al take coun-
 sell for all, and at the laste take it for hym selfe. Some I
 thinke arde byng to my heuy fatall desirous, and thynke
 yll customes, that one thinge shall not profite the, that is,
 if the lytel goodnes that thou haste want was for feare of
 me in my lyfe, that thou wyldest doo lesse than thou haste
 forgotten my verbe. I do more wylle for to satisfy my de-
 sire and the common welth, than for the hope that I haue
 of the amendement of thy lyfe. There is not a worse com-
 playnte, than that a man holdeth of him selfe. If thou my
 sonne be yll, some wylle complayne to the goddis, that they
 haue given the so yll inclinations: They wylle complayne
 of Austine thy mother, that hath brought the up so wan-
 tonly: and they wylle complayne on thy selfe, that thou
 doste not refrayne the from vices: and they shall not com-
 playne of thynne olde father, that hath given the so many
 good counselles. I am in certayne, thou hast not so great
 dolour to see the ende of this myghte, and the ende of my
 lyfe, as thou hast pleasure to se the day that thou shalt be
 emperour: and I haue no mercynle, for to here as sensu-
 alittle reigneth, reason is put asyde. Experts thynges are
 beleued because they are not knowen certainly: O how ma-
 ny thynges of trouthe be there, that if they were knownen,
 theye should be truly

truly they shal be pleased. As when so doubtful in eu-
 ery thing, might thoue thy busynesse so variable and in-
 constantly, that somtyme our spirites breake the purpose,
 and an other hys they can be by dot of trouble nor hy-
 durance. Wherfore be so thy fre to do yll, that some tyme we
 lese by a cord of the moste, and to do wel we be so dul, that
 we lesse by a corde of the leaste: and at the laste we doo no-
 thing but lese. Whanne I topt aduertise the by wordes, that
 I haue knowen in long yeres by long experience: and sith
 thou art my sonne and poyge, it is reason that thou be-
 leue hym that is thy oly father. As we princes are regard
 of all men, and regard all men, and are regarded of al-
 ther, this is why thou doste inherite the myre of the worlde
 and the courte of Rome. I knowe well there be now in
 the courte of princis, that knowe nothyng what is to make
 them selfe of wythynes, and to mainteyn them self among
 so many trauailes as are treated in the houses of princis.
 I lette the so wyte, that in the courte is auncient parciali-
 tes, poulente dissensions, fearefull vnderstandynges, eui-
 dente witchelles, entayles of serpentes, tongues of sco-
 pions, many detractours, and fewe that seke prynces: and
 wher as al men shulde harken to the comon voyce, euery
 man secketh his owne profytte. Euery manne sheweth a
 good pretence, and all are occupied in yll workes: In suc-
 che wyse that some by auarice lese thei good fame, and
 some prodigally spende and waste all thei goodes. What
 shoulde I saye more. In the courte euery day the lordes
 chaunge and alter the lawes, awake strifes, and reple-
 nishes, abate noblenesse, etake the vniuersity, baryshe in-
 nocentes, and honour theues, loue flatterers, and dispraise
 they in the whiche be vertuous, they embrace delices, and
 treade betwix vnder thei fete: they wept for them that be
 ylle, and laugh at some that be good, and finally
 they

they take all goodly things by the mother, and bestow for
 they stepmother. And my sonde yfap in the house, the
 counte, the whiche thou shalt enherite this day, is nothing
 but a shoppe with wares, and a house of vices and vices,
 wherein some selle vyle and corrupte thynges, and othe
 byelles, some haue credence, and some haue renoune,
 some haue goodes, and some haue lypunge, and all to-
 gether is but tulle of tyme: and that word of all is, they
 will not beleue the popson therof, till it be at they hartes,
 they are so folpyshe and stutop. Rome hath very hye wal-
 les, and the vertues is very lowe. Rome blundered to selfe
 to be very stronge in nombre of inhabitants, and after-
 ward Rome shal wepe that there is more people than ver-
 tue, and vices are not accounted. In a moneth a manne
 might recken all the stones of the proude edifices, but in
 a .ij. yeres he myght not compyse the malyses of his yll
 custonies. I sweere to the by the immortal gods, that in
 the yeres I repaired all that was decayed in Rome, and
 in thirty yeres I coude not reforme one quarter thereof to
 good lypunge. Good some beleue me, the great cities full
 of good inhabitants oughte to be paynted, and not the
 great edifices. Our predecessours haue schypped on stran-
 gers as weke and feeble, and now they may triumphe
 on vs also, as menne that be more band uppyd with vices
 than any of the other. As the myghtheis and proude
 les of our predecessours, whiche that be now, are greatly
 honoured and exalted: and by the frailt constitution of vs
 that be now, they that are after vs shall be greatly alha-
 med. Of a very treuthe it is a great shame so saye, and no
 lesse cause of vyle, that the goodnes and brauery of the
 auncyents shal be deuoured and conuerted to folpys
 and petytyllousnes, and the same shal be on the selfe, that the
 reyne of the yowthe, and lypertie of the emperour causeth the
 not

and to eodungric hope. He is not called onely free, that is
 free borne, but he that dyeth within the same. O how we well
 are the slaves borne, that after they; death are free by they;
 goodnes: how many have died slaves by they; mough-
 tynges, that were borne free. There is freedom where no-
 blesse abyde. The promys of thy person shall grue the
 more hardynes and lybertie than chauncyng of the myght.
 It is a generall rule, that every vertuous man of necessi-
 tie is to be holden hardye: and every vicious man of ne-
 cessitie is to be reputed a coward. Howe boldelpe they be
 chastised that be noted with any vice, and coldelpe they be
 chastised that deserue chastisement. Let the prynce be in a
 certayn, that the loue of his people, and the lybertie of his
 offyce, hath not wherewith to vpholde hym in armes, spyn
 abode on the erth, without the dyuers vertues assembled
 in his person.

Certaynly Octavius Cesar subdued mo nations by
 the renoume of his vertues, than dydde Satus his vncle
 with his army of many men. All the worlde top of a ver-
 tuous prynce: and it semeth that al the worlde tyeth against
 a vicious prynce. Vertue is a strong castel, and can neuer
 be wounne: it is a riuer where nedeth no rowing, a see that
 moueth not, a fire that quencheth not, a treasure that ne-
 uer hath ende, an army neuer overcome, a burden that ne-
 uer wettereth, a spie that euer retourneth, a sygne that ne-
 uer deceyureth, a playne waye that neuer faileth, a syrope
 that healeth forthwith: and a renoume that neuer peris-
 sheth. O my sonne if thou knowest what thinge it is to be
 good, and what a man thou shouldest be if thou were ver-
 tuous, thou shouldest deserue to the goddes, good re-
 noume to thy selfe, pleasure to thy frendes, and engender
 loue of straungers, and finally all the worlde shoulde feare
 and loue the.

remembꝛe, that in the boke of peres, of the battayle of Tarentyne, I founde, that the renoumed Pyrrhus, kyng of the Epyrothiens, bare in a rynge grauen these wordes: To a vertuous man, is but a smalle rewarde, to be loꝛde of all the earth: and it is but a small chastysment to take a viciouse mans lyfe from hym.

Truely it was a worthy sentence of such a pꝛince. What thynge is it, be it neuer so difficile, begonne by a vertuous man, but there is hope to haue a good ende therof. Sothly I haue sene in dyuers parties of myn empyꝛe, dyuers men very darke of good fame, very lowe in goodes, and vnknownen of their kynne and bloud: vndertake so great thynge, that to my semyng, it was a feareful audacitie to begynne. And yet by the wynges of vertue all onely they haue had good renoume at the last. By the immortall gods, and as the god Jupiter brynge me in his mancion, I stablyshe the, in all that is myne. There were ones, a garbener and a pottet, dwellinge in Rome, whiche onely by their vertues, caused to put tenne vycious senatours out of the senate, and the fyrste occasyon was, foꝛ makynge a brydge of thorne, and a pottle, foꝛ the workemanshype and labour whereof, the Senatours wolde not paye them. I tell it the my sonne, bycause that vyce maketh a bolde personne thoughtefulle, and vertue causeth hym, that is in thought, to take strength and boldnes. I was well ware of two thynge in my lyfe, not to pleade agaynst the clerenes of iustice, no; to take part ageynst a vertuous person: foꝛ with vertue god susteyneth vs, and with iustyce the people are well gouerned and ruled.

Of other moze particuler counsaylles,
gyuen by the emperoure to his
sonne. Cap. xlii.

Ja

Rome



We to come to thinges moze particular. Se-
 inge sonne, that thou arte yonge, and that na-
 ture can not denye the: And as in all dyfficile
 thynges, ripe counselle is necessarie, no lesse to
 comfort the state of our lyuing, we desire some
 recreations. For thy youth, I leue þ with gret lordis chyl-
 dren, with whom thou mayst passe the tyme: And to teache
 the, I leue olde Romayns, that haue nouryshed the, & ser-
 ued me, of whom thou shalt take counsell. The inuention
 of interludes, of theatres, to fysh in podes, to hunt wilde
 beastes, to course in the fieldes, to hauke for byrdes and to
 exercise dedes of armes, are the thynges that thy yowthe
 desyrezeth. And youth with youth ought to kepe companie,
 in doyng the same: But beholde my son, that in orderyng
 of armies, to apply the warres, to pursue victories, to ac-
 cepte truce, to confyrme peace, to reyse tributes, to make
 lawes, to promote some, and dismysse other, to chastyce the
 yll, and recompence the good: in all these thinges, that be
 so chargeable, they that be of clere minde, redy broken and
 trauayled of their bodies, & whyt heared, ought to be take
 to counsell þ. And sith thou art yonge & lusty of body, reioyce
 & sport with them that be yonge: & whan thou art emperoꝝ,
 then touching thy secreete affaires, take counsell of them þ be
 old. Beware my son of all extremities. For as yll may the
 prince be, vnder the colour of grauitie, to be rulyd by the
 ancient persones, as vnder the colour of pastyme, to kepe
 cōpany with yonge folkes. It is no generall rule, that all
 yonge persons shall alwayes be yonge and lyght, noꝝ that
 all olde persons shulde be alwayes wyse. I am sure of one
 thyng, that if the yonge man be boꝝne with foly, the olde
 man lyueth and dieth with couetyse. Therfoꝝe my sonne
 beware, be not extꝛeme in extremities. For the yonge peo-
 ple wyll corrupte the with their lyghtnes, and olde folkes
 wyll

will depriue thy mind with theyr couetousnes. What thing can be moze monstrous, than a prince, that commaundeth euery man, to be commaunded of one: Sothely the gouernynge of diuers, can not be gouerned wel by the opinion of one alone. Than the prince, that gouernethe many, oughte to haue the intention and opinion of dyuers.

In the annales of the Pompeyens, I founde a lyttell booke of remembrance, the which great Pompeie bare alway with hym: wherin were dyuers good counselles and aduertisementes, the which were gyuen in diuers parties of the worlde: Amonge the whiche, I founde these wordes: He that gouerneth the common welthe, and putteth the gouernaunce to them that be old, shewed hym selfe vnable: and he that trusteth in youthe, is lyght: and he that gouerneth by hym selfe alone, is hardy and bolde: and he that gouerneth by hym selfe and other, is wyse. These were notable wordes.

Than my sonne, determin the to take counsel, and specially in high thinges and maters of difficultie, and other wise let them not be determyned. For whan the counsaile is taken of diuers, than yf any faute be, it shal be deuided amonge them all. Though the determination myghte be done by a fewe, yet take counsel of many. Amonge all thy welthes, here the common counsel. For one wyl shewe the all the inconuenience, an other the peryll, an other the damage, an other the profite, an nother the remedye. And sette as wel thyn eyes vpon the inconueniences, that they laye, as vpon the remedye, that they offre. Whan thou begynnest any harde mattier, esteeme as well the small damages, that may befall afore, and stoppe them, as to remedye the great misfortunes, that come after. Of trouthe & ströge and myghty shyppe ofte tymes for a small takynge hede of the pylotte, is sounken and drowned in a lyttell water:

Aa u

and

and an other shyppe, not so strong, with wise diligence, is saued in the gulfe of the see. Be not annoyed to take counsell in smal matters euery houre. For many thynges forthwith require to be looked to, and in abydyng for counsell, it endomageeth. And that that thou canst dispatche by thyn owne auctoritie, without damage of the common welthe, put it not to any other person. For sith thy seruice al onely dependeth of thyn, the rewarde dependeth of the alone.

In the yere. vi. C. xxi. of the foundacyon of Rome, after the cruell warres done ageinst the kynge of Numedie, the day that Marius triumphed, without puttyng of any of the riches, that he brought, into the common treasury, he deuided it to his men of warre. And whan he was therfore accused, and asked, why he toke not fyrste the opinion of the senate: He answered and sayde: Sythe they toke not the opinion of other, to do me seruice, it were not reson that I sholde take counsell of other, to rewarde and recompence them.

Son, yet I wil aduertise the of other thinges. Peraduenture some wyl gyue the counsell, er thou demaund it: In that case kepe this general rule: neuer abide the second counsell of a man, yf he haue gyuen the counsell befoze in the pzeiudyce of an other. For he offreth his wordes in thy seruyce, to bringe the besynes to his owne profyte. O my soune, there are many thynges to knowe a man. For yere I haue ben senatour, consule, censure, capitayne, and tribune: and. xviii. yeres I haue ben emperour of Rome, and diuers haue spoken to me, in pzeiudyce of other, and many mo, for they? own profite, and none haue spoken clerely to me, for the profite of other, nor for my seruice. Great compassion oughte to be taken of pziinces: for euery man foloweth them for they? owne profite, & none for loue and seruice. One counsell I toke for my selfe, all the whyle that I haue

I haue gouerned Rome: I neuer kepte man in my house, after that I knewe hym hatefull agaynste the common welthe.

In the yere of the foundation of Rome. vi. C. lix. of the Olympiade. C. lxxviii. Lucullus Patricien, greate frende to Sylla; boyng to the warre of Metridates, It chaunced that in Tygoano, a citie of Caldiens, he found a plate of coppe or brasse, vpon the kynges gates, wherein were certayne litters, whiche they sayde were grauen there by the commaundement of Alexander the great. The letters were in Caldee, conteynynge these sentences, That prince is not wyse, that wyl holde his lyfe in peryll, and wil not assure his lyfe and state with the loue of all men: That prince is not vertuous, that in giuinge moche to one person, wylleth all other to haue but lytell: That prince is not iuste, that wyl satisfie more the couetise of one person, than the voices of all men: That prince is a fole; that dispiseth the counsell of all other, and trusteth all onely vpon the opynion of one: And finally that prince is to bolde and hardye, that for the loue of one, wyl be hated of all other.

These were wordes of eternall memoire. And in dede these princes sholde haue this alwayes in theyr presence. Donne yet I shal say more to the. This Lucullus Patricien brought into the senate, all the trespure that he had, and this plate, with the sayd wordes thereon, to the intent that they shulde chuse the one, and leaue the other. And the senate refused all the trespure, and toke the councelles wrytten thereon.

Of dyuers and partycular recommendations,
whiche the emperour commaunded
his sonne. Cap. xlvii.

Ala iii

I haue



Haue shewed, lyke a father, the thyng, that
 toucheth thy welth: Nowe I wyl shew the,
 what thou oughtest to do after my death, for
 my seruice. Those thynges, that I haue lo-
 ued in my lyfe, yf thou wylt be sonne to thy
 father, esteeme them after my dethe. I yste my sonne I re-
 commend to the, the woꝛshyppe of the temples, and
 the reuerence of the priestes, with the honour of the god-
 dis. So longe shall the honour of the Romayns laste, as
 they perseuer in the seruice of the goddis. The realme of
 the Carthaginens perished not, bycause they were not so
 riche, oꝛ moze cowardes than the Romayns: but bycause
 they loued their tresoꝛs to moch, and were but yll woꝛship-
 pers and louers of the temples. My sonne I recommend
 to the Helia, thy stepmother, & remembre, that though she
 be not thyne owne mother, yet she is my wyfe: and on the
 peyne of my cursing, suffre not that she be yll intreted. For
 the domage that she shuld suffre by thy cōsent, shuld gyue
 euidence of the small thought, that thou takest of my deth
 which shuld be an iniury to thy life. I haue left to her the
 tributes and reuenues of Hostie, for to maynteyne her de-
 gre: and the gardens of Vulcan, which I caused to make
 for her recreatiō. And if thou take it fro her, thou shewest
 thyne plesse. And to suffer her to enioy it, I commaunde
 the by thyne obedience, and to shewe her thy bountye and
 largesse. Remembre she is a Romayn, yong, & a wydowe,
 of the house of my loꝛde Traian, and how she is thy mo-
 ther adoptiue, & my naturall wyfe: wherfore I leue her vn-
 der thy recommendatiō. Also I cōmyt to the, thy byeterne
 in law: & thy sisters, my doughters. I leue them al married
 not to straunge kynges, but to the naturall inhabitaūtes
 and citisens of Rome. They dwell al within the walles of
 Rome, where as they may do the seruice, and thou mayst
 do them

do the good. Son intrete them in such wise, that though
their good father be deade, yet let them haue fauour. And
though they se their brother emperour of Rome, yet let the
not be defouled. women be of a ryght tender cōdition, they
wyl complayne for a smalle cause, and for lesse they wylle
ryse vp in pryde, thou oughtest to conserue them after my
deth, as I haue done in my lyfe. For otherwylse they con-
uersation shulde be fekyll to the people, and importunate
to the. Also I cōmyt to the Lipula thy sister, that is amōg
the virgins Vestales. Thinke that she is doughter of thy
mother Faustin, which I haue greatly loued in my lyfe, &
vnto the houre of my death, I haue lamented hers. Euery
yere I gaue to thy sister. ii. M. sexters, for her necessities:
she had ben as well marped as the other, yf she had not be
brent in the bylage: whiche was esteemed of euery man an
pladuenture, and specially of her moder, that wept alway
for her. But I esteeme that yll aduenture, a good fortune.
for yf she had not ben brent in þ face with fire, she had in
the worlde, as touchynge her renome, be brent with diuers
tonges. Son, I swere to the, that for the seruice of þ god-
des, & the fame of men, she is more surer with the virgins
in the temple, than though she were in the senate, with the
senatours. I deme, þ at the ende of the iourney, she shall
finde her selfe better at ease, closed & locked in, than thou
with all thy libertie. In the prouynce of Lucany, I haue
lefte for her, the. ii. M. sexters: I wyl not that thou take
them fro her. Also I cōmytte Druzia the wydowe to the,
which hath layd a great proces against the senate, bycause
þ by motions afore passed, her husband was banished: I
haue great compassyon of her: for it is thre monethes, sith
she put in her demaunde, and bycause of my great warres
I coude not declare her iustyce. Sonne, thou shalt fynde
it trewe, that in. xxxv. yere, that I haue governed Rome,
there

there was neuer wydow, that helde her p[ro]cesse befoze me,
passynge. viii. dayes. Take compassyon of suche. For wo-
menes necessities are ryght peryllous, and at the laste, yf
their besynes be longe in hande, they recouer not so moche
of theyr goodes, as they lese in theyr renowme. Also haue
compassyon of poore men, and the goddis shall rewarde
the, with great ryches. Also I comynytte to the, my aunci-
ent seruantes, to whom my longe peres and cruel warrres,
my often necessities, the displeasure of my bodye, and my
longe syckenesses, hath ben ryght paynfull. For they, as
true seruantes, to gyue me lyfe, haue taken peyn vnto the
deth. It is reason, that syth I haue taken their deth, that
they inherite parte of my lyfe. One thyng I holde for cer-
tayne, In case that my bodye abyde in the sepulchre with
wormes, yet I shall alwayes, befoze the goddis haue re-
memb[er]aunce of them. In this doyng, thou shalt do as a
good chylde, to satisfye them, that haue serued thy father.
Take hede my son, euery p[ri]nce, doing Iustice, acquirith
ennemies in the execution therof. And this is done by the,
that are mooste nere to hym. For the more p[ri]uate they are
with the p[ri]nce, the more hatefull they are to the people.
And though euery man loueth iustyce in genetal, yet they
all hate the execution therof in particular. When a iuste
p[ri]nce is dead, the people take vengeance of the vniuste
seruantes. When thou were a chylde, my seruantes noy-
shed the, to the entent, that thou shouldest susteyne them in
their age. Surely, it were great shame to the empire, an of-
fence to the goddis, an iniurie to me, and an vngentelnes
of the, that thou hast found them. xviij. peres, with their ar-
mes abode to halse the, that they shold fynde one day thy
gates shet ageinst them. These thynges I comyt to p[ar]-
ticularly, kepe them alway in memozy. And syth I remem-
bre them at my deth, cōsider how I loued them in my lyfe.

Of the last wordes that the emperor spake to his son,
and of a table that he gaue hym. Capi. xlviii.



Whan the emperor had ended his said recommendations, the daye began to sprynge, and his eye stringes began to breke, and his tonge faultred, and his handes shoke. Than the said happy emperor, felynge that weakenes began sore to drawe aboue his harte, he commaunded Panutius to go into his studye, and to bryng to hym a coffre that was there. And whan it was brought to his presence he opened it, and toke out a table of thre fote broode, and two fote longe, it was of wood Lybanus, & rounde about garnished with vnicorne. It was closed with two leaues, subtylly wroughte of a red wood, that some sayde was of the tree that the Phenix bredeth in: and is called Kasyn. And as there is but one byrde Phenix bredyng in Arabie: so lykewise there is no more trees in the world of the same kynde. On one of the outwarde partyes of the table was pyctured & grauen to god Jupiter: on the other the goddesse Venus: In the inwarde partyes of the Table that shette, was pictured god Mars, and the goddesse Ceres: In the pyncipall of the sayd table was pyctured a Bulle subtylly wrought to the quicke, and vnder that a kynge was pyctured. The whiche payntures were sayde to be of the handy warke of the expert Appelles an ancient worke man in payntyng. Than the emperor toke the table in his hande, and with great payne, he sayd: Thou seest my sonne Commodus, how I am al redy scaped from the trappes of fortune, and am enterynge into the heuy aduentures of deathe. I wote not why the goddis haue created vs, syth there is so great annoyance in our lyfe, & so great perylle at our deathe. I vnderstande not why the goddis
Bb haue

haue and vse so great crueltye to the creatures. And yere
 I haue sayled with great trauaile through the great pe-
 rylles of this lyfe: and at this howse I am commaunded
 to take lande and dyscharge me of my selfe, and to take
 erthe in the sepulchre. Nowe vntpeth the lyuely thredes,
 nowe vndoerh the spynnell, nowe rypeth the webbe, nowe
 endeth my lyfe. Nowe am I awaked from the slepyng e-
 myll: remembryng howe I haue passed my lyfe, I haue
 no more desyre to lyue. And in that I knowe not whiche
 waye to go, I refuse dethe, What shall I do? I am deter-
 myned to put me into the handes of the goddis wyllyng-
 ly, sythe I muste do so of necessitie. whome I requyre, yf
 they haue created me for any goodnes, not to depriue me
 fro them for my demerites. I am nowe in the laste gate:
 and to this howse I haue kepte the greatest and most ex-
 cellent iewel that I coude fynde in all my lyfe. In the .x.
 yere of myn empire there arose a warre agaynst the Pa-
 rthes: wherfore I determyned in myne own person to giue
 them battaile. After that warre I came by the auncient
 citie of Thebes, for to see some antiquitie. Amonge the
 whiche in a priests howse I fonde this table, the whiche
 as a kynge was reposed in Egypte, incontynente it was e-
 uer hanged at his beddes heed, and this pryest shewed me
 that it was made by a kynge in Egypte named Ptholomie
 Arsacides, that was a vertuouse pryncce. And in the memo-
 rie of hym, and example of other, the priestes kepte it dily-
 gently. And sonne I haue kept it alwaye with me: and I
 beseeche the goddis, that suche may be thy warkes, as ther
 in thou mayst fynde good counsell. As emperour I leaue
 the heyre of many countreys and realmes: and as thy fa-
 ther I do geue vnto the this table of counsables. Lette
 this be the laste worde, that with the empyre thou shalt be
 feared, and by this table thou shalt be beloued.

This

This sayde, and the table deliuered to his sonne, the emperour turned his eyes, and within a quarter of an houre he yelded the spirite.

Now to retourne to the sayd table and writing. There was written betwene the bulle and the kynge a scrowe in Greke letters, in maner of heroicall verses, conteynyng in our vulgat tonge thus. I neuer chose ryche tirant, no: abhorred the pooze iust man. I neuer denyed iustyce to a pooze man fo: his ponertie, no: pardoned a ryche man fo: his great goodes and rychesse: I neuer dyd good deedes, no: neuer gaue hye fo: affection, no: gaue correction onely fo: the peyne: I neuer left ylnes vnchastised, no: goodnes without rewarde: I neuer commytted an other to do iustyce that was clere, no: darke iustyce I neuer determined by my selfe alone: I dyd neuer denye iustyce to them that demaunded it, no: mercy vnto hym that deserued it: I neuer dydde correction fo: angre, no: promysed any rewarde in my myght: I was neuer charged with thoughtes in my prosperitie, no: dyspayred in myne aduersitie: I neuer comitted yl by malpce, no: any villany fo: auarice: I neuer opened my gates to flatterars no: dyssemblers, no: lystened myne eares to murmurers: I haue laboured alwayes to be loued of them that be good, and to be dread and fered of them that be yll: And fynally I haue fauoured the pooze, that myght do but lyttell, and haue be fauoured of the goddis that may do moche.

Whereto is helwed brefely the worthy and laudable lyfe of the emperour Marcus Aurelius, and of his deathe.
And hereafter ensueth
the seconde parte
of his boke.

A letter sente by Marcus Marcellus to Pyramon
his specyall frende, Capita xlii.

The fyrste letter.



Arche oratour Romayn, borne at mount
Celio to Pyramon of Lyon, my greatte
frende, desyrynge salutation to thy per-
son, and strength and vertu against thy
sinister fortune. In the thyrde kalendes
of Ianuarie I receiued thy letter, wher-
by I perceyue thou hast receiued one of
myn. I set smal store by thy wordes, but I esteeme greatly
what thou meanest by them. So that without declarynge
therof I haue gadzed the sentence. Reason wold, bycause
I haue wryten so often to the, that thou shuldest the better
vnderstande me: but thou arte so slouthfull, that though
I call the, thou wylt not here: nor thoughe I stryke the,
thou wylt not feelee. But nowe to comme to the purpose.
Thou knowest well Pyramon, howe nere we be in paren-
tage, auncyent in frendshyppe, stedfaste in loue, and ten-
der of hartes: and whan so euer thou put it in experyence,
than one true frende shall proue an other. Thou remem-
berest well, when we were at Rhodes, that we dwelled togy-
ther in one house, and dyd eate at one table, and all that
thou thoughtest I dyd it in effectte: and that I sayd, thou
neuer gaynsaydest. Certaynly thou were in my harte, and
I in thyn entrayles. I was thyn, and thou were myne.
We beinge together, hit seemed to all other that we were
but one, and of one wyll. What is it my frende Pyramon?
Thou wrytest how thou arte heuy, and yet thou doest not
shewe the cause why: thou complaynest & thou art almost
deed, and thou shewest me not who taketh thy life fro the.
If thou wylt not shewe to my thyn yll destenies, sith thou
arte

arte my frende, I wyl thou knowe, that I demaunde it
of ryght: yf thou wylt not, I wyl that thou knowe, that þ
pitiefull goddes haue determined, that all pleasures and
profyte shall depart from my house: and that all heuynes
and domages shall be registred in my personne. Sith I
am prince of al honour, being in tribulation, yf thou wol-
dest, thou canste not escape out of my seignourie. For yf
thou complayne, that thou arte vnhappy in fortune, than
I esteeme my selfe to be happy in vnhappynes. I demand
one thyng of the. whan haste thou sene me haue suffery-
ente, and thou neder whan haste thou sene me slepe, and
thou wake: and whan hast thou trauayled, and I rested?
Of trouthe sith the goodes and persones are they? owne
proprie, the trauayles and yll aduentures are alwayes com-
mon. One thyng thou oughtest to knowe, yf in myne a-
mitie thou wylt perseuer, that all my goodes are thyne,
and all thyne euylles are myn, sith thou arte borne to lyue
easly, and to be gentylly ordered and intreated, and I do
lyue for to trauayle. I say not this saynyngly: for thou
haste hadde experience of me, that whan I amaria thy sy-
ster dyed, that was no lesse vertuous than sayre, thou sa-
west wel whan she was buryed deed, I was buried quick
and at the sowne of my teares thyn eyes daunced. Sythe
thou holdest such sureties of my person, surely thou maist
discouer to me thy payne. yet as often as I haue deman-
ded it, there hath not sayned reasons fayled in the. I re-
quire the, and desyre the agayne, and in the name of the
goddes I pray the, and in they? names I coniure the, that
thou dispose all thy sorowes into myn entrayles. For the
way that thou goeste, I wyl not leue one pace to go fro
the same: yf thou go, I wyl go: yf thou reste, I wyl reste
yf thou worke, I myll worke: yf thou leue of, I wyl doo
the same: yf thou wylt dye, thou knowest well I wyl not
Bb iii lyue.

lyue. Regarde frende what thou wilt do. For thyne euple and myne, toymente bothe one harte. If thou haue displeasure, all thynges dysplese me: yf thou wepe, I swere fro hensforth neuer to laughe: yf thou dyscharge the of thy payne, fro hensforth I shal take it for myne: yf thou go alone, I wyl forsake company, and forthwith lyue solytarily. What wilt thou that I shuld desyre? For all that euer thou wilt I wyl. Thou complaynest that in all thy trauayles thou canst fynd no parent to remedy the, nor frende to counsel the. I swere to the my frende Pyramon, that of these two thynges I haue as moch pouertye in my house as thou hast sorow in thyn. I know well the remedy shuld come by ryches, and by counsell, and consolation of them that be wyse. And by reason of my heuy destenies, slouth hath taken fro me the knowlege of wysdome: and fortune wyl not permytte me to haue great riches. Certaynly I wepe for thy myserie, and yet there is but small remedy in me. Thou sayeste in thy letter, that thy neyghbours and frendes in promysynge haue behighte the many thynges: but in giuyng they do nothyng. Hereof I meruayle: for the vertuous hand is not bound to make the tonge a folle. Truly though our fete daunce, our handes shulde werke at the sowne of the tonge: our lyfe endethe in fewe dayes, and our renoume in fewer. Promys is an auncient custom among the sonnes of vanite, and of custome the tonge speketh hastily, and the handes worke at leysure. Nowe lette vs speake more particularly.

Thou oughtest not to complayne, in that thou fyndest not but in a fewe, that dyuers haue founde in the alone. Custome is to receyue forthwith and merely, and to gyue slowely with yll wylle and repentaunce. They that be presumptuous do the one, and they whiche be slouthfull, do the other. The Grekes saye: that he that promysethe
and

and is longe in fulfyllpng, is but a slacke frende. we knowe
 sayns say, that he is moche better that denieth forthwith
 because he wyl not begyle hym that asketh. In this case
 say, he that may gyue and gyueth not, is a clere enne-
 my: and he that promyseth forthwith, and is longe oꝝ he
 do it, is but a suspicious frende. what nede wordis to our
 nedes, whā we may succour them with workes? Is it not
 right, to whome we giue our hartes, which is þ best thing
 within vs, that we giue him our tongue, that is the worst
 thinge of all our vyces? In good sothe the goddes wylle
 not suffre in the place of amitie, to desire any thyng of our
 frend in hast, & to be dyuen it of with longe delayng. Pla-
 to in his lawes sayth, we commande, that in our gouer-
 nunge, that polytike counsaile be gyuen to them, that be
 in prosperytie, to thentent that they decay not: and to suc-
 cour them that be in heuines and trouble, to thentent that
 they despayre not. Certaynly vnder these wordes are com-
 pyled dyuers great sentēces. Thou knowest wel my frēd
 Piramon, that swete wordes cōfōrt the hart but lytel that
 is in tribulation, but yf there be some good workes ther-
 with. I wyl nat deny, but that they, to whom we haue gy-
 uen oure good wylls in the tyme of our prosperytie, be
 bounde to gyue vs of they; goodes, & to shewe vs fauour
 in our aduersitie. I demande oue thyng of the, wherfoze
 holdest thou a presumptuous lycence to demaunde? And
 reppouest on the other part the lybertie of denieng. Truly
 as there is shame in the demandyng, there is obligatiō in
 some thyng to deny: an importunate man is not worthy to
 haue mercy. Thou mayst knowe, yf thou knowe it not my
 frēd Piramō, that to attayn to euery thing þ is demāded,
 belongeth only to the goddis. To giue al thing that is de-
 māded is no signe of any seruāt. And to deny any thing is
 of liberte. To wepe for þ is denied is the cōditiō of tirātis
 And

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And to conne no thanke for that is gyuen, is the condition of the Barbarpens: and to haue euer a stedfaste hoope of that is denyed, is the guyle of the Romaynes. One of these thinges, wherein Gayus Cesar shewed hym selfe to be of high courage was, that he had mooste greattest ioye whan the senate refused any thyng despyed by hym. Oftentimes he sayde: There is nothyng wherin Rome gyueth me moze glozpe and renoume to my persone, thanne whan I shewe my selfe most hasty to demaunde, and they mooste styffe to denye me: to thentent that after they shuld knowe, what is my power to abyde, and how lyttell they strength is to resist. He thynk it is better to haue recours to the goddis with vertues, than to displease theym with quarelles. And to gyue contentation to thy reposed wyll, whan thou seest thy selfe in trybulation: and that thou demaundest of the goddis and of men to be frustrate, thou oughtest to measure it with a ryght measure, and to payse it in a ryght balaunte, the great quantitie that hath bene gyuen to the, and the lytell quantitie that hath be graunted the. O how vncourteyse be we to the goddis, and of small remembraunce to men, whan we mynishe with forgetfulnes, that we haue receyued of them: and that lytle that hath ben refused vs, we augment it with complayntes: Frende Pyramo, I am begyled yf thou be not fyfty yeres of age, and all that season thou hast done nothyng but receyued gyftes: and yet for all that, I haue nat sene the do one day of seruiue. Certaynly it is no reason to complayne of. viii. dayes of yll fortune, beyng fyfty yeres of age. Thou sayest in thy letter, howe thou hast moch peyn, bycause thou knowest al thy neyghbours to be enuyous. In good soth I haue peyne for thy peyne, and of thy meruayling I haue great meruayle. For all admiration procedeth but by surmountynge of ignorance, and faulte of

expe.

experience. Both the quicke vnderstandyng of men rule the lyfe of the that be mortall, that they nede not to thinke of the trauayle to come, hauyng in theyr handes hasty remedy: If they be hungry, they maye eat: whan they are colde, they maye warme them: yf they be slepy, they maye slepe: whan they be wery, they maye reste: when they are sycke, they may be healed: whan they are heuy, they maye reioyce in suche maner, that the thoughtfull lyfe passeth, some to make tiltes and lystes, some to make armure and scaffoldes, some to inuente newe gynnes, and some to repayre bulwarke. I say the world and the flesh do nought els, but fyght agaynst vs, and we haue nede at all tymes to defend vs fro them. All these remedies are agaynst the trauayle of the fleshe. But what shall we do, that the cursednes of enuy extende not amonge all these? Cursed is that welthe, that euery man enuieth. Certaynly agaynst enuy is no fortreffe to defend, no: caue to hyde, no: hye hil to mounite on, no: thycke wodde to shadowe in, no: shypppe to scape in, no: horse to beare away, no: money to redeime vs. Enuy is so venomous a serpent, that there was neuer mortall man amonge mortalles, that coulde scape fro the bytyng of her tothe, and scratchpuge of her nayles, foyng of her fete, and poisonyng of her popson. I swere to the my frend Pyramon, that such as fortune listeth vp with great ryches, she full of crueltie gyueth theym profounde bytynges. Enuie is so enuious, that to them, that of her are mooste denyed, and sette fardest of, she gyueth the most cruell strokes with her fete. This vnhappye enuye prepareth popson secretly fro them that be in reste amonge dyuers pleasures.

I haue redde dyuers booke of Hebrew, Greke, Latyn, and Caldee. And also I haue spoken with many very wise men, to se if there might be found any remedy agaynst

an enuious man. I confesse the truth: Rede all that can be redde, and imagine all that can be, demaunde all that can be demaunded, and ye shall fynde none other cure against this cursed enuye, but to banyshe vs fro all prosperitie, and to sytte with aduerse fortune. O howe vnhappy are they that be in prosperitie: for iustly they that be sette vp in hygh estate, can not flee from the peryll of Scilla, without fallynge into Charibdis. They can not scape the peryll, without castynge theyr treasures into the see. I say that the malady of enuy wyll not suffre them to scape fro deth, and the medicine that is applyed to them, wyll not assure their lyfe. I can not determyne me, whiche is the beste, or to saye more properly the worste, extreme miserie without the danger of fortune, or extreme prosperite, that is alwayes thretened to falle. In this case to be so extreme I wyll not determin me, sith in the one is a perillous lyfe and in the other renoume is sure.

I shall tell the, what wise Cicero sayde, whan he was pursued with many at Rome: Beholde you Romayns, I holde you not for soo good, nor my selfe so ylle, to saye the trowth alwayes, nor alwayes to make lyes. I am certayne, that ye bere me none enuye, for that I am not as ye be, but it is bycause ye can not be as I am. In this case I had rather that my ennemies had enuye at my prosperytie, than my frendes at my pouertie.

This oratour spake after the appetite of them that be in prosperitie, leuyng to gyue remedy to them that be sorrowfull. And after this Cicero had sene the felde of far-sayle, he toke other counsell and remedy, suche as pleased hym in Rome. For if Cesar had granted him his goodes, yet he turned not his credence and renoume. Surely frend Pyramo I know no remedy to gyue the against enuy, sith thou seest al the world ful therof. we se how we be sons
of

of enuy, and we liue with enuy, & dye with enuy, & he that
 leueth most ryches, leueth the greatest enuy. The ancient
 wise men counsailed rich men, that they shuld not haue poze
 folkes nere them: and they admonished the poze, that they
 shuld nat dwell nere to the ryche. And truly it is good rea-
 son. For the rychesse of rich men is the sede of enuy to the
 pooze. And bycause the pooze man lacketh & the riche hath
 to moche, causeth disorde among p people. I swere by the
 goddis immortal, frend Diramo, though they that be yll
 wolde that I shold swere falsely, as moch as ryches with
 thought nourisheth couetise, so moch the enuious nourisheth
 enuy therby. I tell the one thyng, and that is, that it is
 no good counsell to flee enuy, and to auoyde the vertue co-
 trarye the same. Homer sayth, that in his tyme there were
 two Grekes, extreme in all extremities: The one was ex-
 treme in riches, & therfore he was psecuted by enuy, & that
 was Achilles: & the other was soze notcd of malice, but no
 man had enuy at hym, and that was Thiestes. Certaynly
 I had leuer be Achilles with his enuy, thā Thiestes with-
 out it. Thou knowest well, that we Romaines serche not
 but for reste in our lyfe, and for honour after deathe. And
 sith it is so, it is not possyble but the man that euery man
 enuieth his renoume, ought to be exalted in the rest of his
 lyfe. And sith I se these two thynges in the, suche as be
 thy frendes taketh lytell thought, for that thyn ennemyes
 murmur against the. Thou wytest to me, howe they of
 Lyons do well, and are mery, excepte thy selfe, that arte
 heuy, and full of pensyuenesse. And sith they shewe not to
 haue pleasure at thy dyspleasure, shewe not thy selfe dys-
 pleased with their pleasure. For it maye chaunce one daye
 they shalbe sorowfull, whan that thou arte merye: than
 thou shalt be quite with them. In an euyl persone there
 can be no greater yll, nor in a good man a greater faute,
 C c ii than

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than to be displeased with an other mans welthe, and to take pleasure at an other mans harme. And in case that al do vs damage with enuie, yet moch moze a frende, than the enemy. For of myn enmy I wpll beware, and for feare he wpll withdraue: but a frende with his amitie may begyle me, and I by my fidelitie shal not perceyue. Amonge all moztall enemies there is none wojs than a frende that is enuyous of my felicitye. Pyramon my frende, I wylle conclude, yf thou wplst withdraue thy selfe fro ennemyes, than kepe company with thyn owne familiar frendes. I wote not what to wryte moze to the, but with all my hart I lamente thy heynesse. Thou knowest howe thy wyfe Brutia was slayne with a dagger by her owne hus bande. I had great compassyon for her deth, and for the renoume that she lefte behynde her. Flavius priscus thyn vncle is newly made Censure. The processe betwene thy brother Foznio and Britio is determined by the senate, and hit pleaseth me ryght well, that they be frendes, and euery man well content. The boke intytuled the consolation of heynes I haue ended, and layde it in the capitol. I haue wryten it in Greke, and that is the cause that I sent it not to the. But I do sende the a ryche swerde, and a fayre gyrdell. Faustine my wyfe dothe salute the, and sendethe thy wyfe two sclaues. The goddis be my keepers, and comfort the in thy present heynesse. Marke the man fortunat, to Pyramon soze discomforted.

A letter sent by Marcus the Emperour to
Cornelius of the trauayle of warre,
and vanitie of triumphe.

The seconde letter.

Marke



Arcke emperour of Rome to the Corne-
 lius my faythfull frende, salutation to
 thy person, and good fortune to thy desi-
 red lyfe. As thou in tyme passed, haste
 bene partener of my trauayles, I haue
 sente to calle the to gyue the pleasure of
 my triumphes. By the haboundance of
 rycheffe, diuersitie of captiues, fierynes of capitayns that
 we haue brought to Rome, thou mayst perceyue what pe-
 rils we haue suffred in this warre. The parthes are good
 men of warre: & as euery man syndeth in theyr own lande
 defendeth their houses with stronge hart: and surely they
 do lyke good men. For without reason we dye of affection
 to take other mens goodes: & they with reason do labour
 to defende that is their owne. Lette no man take enuy at
 the Romayn capitayn, for any triumph that is gyuen him
 by his mother Rome: for one daye of honour, he is a. 99.
 dayes in dispaire of his lyfe. I wylle not speake that I
 myght say of them that be in warre, and dwell in Rome, &
 ben cruell iuges of theyr owne fame. And sith that the p-
 re renome of a man lyeth in other folkes tonges, it is not
 sayde bycause his persone hath meryted, but bycause that
 they doo shewe theyr enuye. But our foolyshnes is so fo-
 lysh, and the reputation of men so vayne, that for one
 vayne worde, more than for our profytte, we put our lyfe
 in daunger, and lay our honour to gauge with trauayle,
 rather then to lyue, and to assure our renome with rest.
 I sweare by the goddis immortall, that the daye of my tri-
 umph being in the chariot, I was as pensive as I myght
 be. O Rome cursed be thy folke, & wo be to hym that hath
 brought vp in the soo moche pride. And cursed be he that
 hath inuented so great pompe in the. What greater or
 more vnegall lyghtnes can be, than that a Romayne ca-
 pitayn

pitayn, bicause he hath conquered realmes, altered peasi-
 bles, dystroyed cityes, caste downe fortresses, robbed the
 pooze, enriched tyrantis, shedde moche bloode, and made
 infinite wydowes, shoulde for recompence of all these da-
 mages be receyued with great triumph: Where hast thou
 sene a greter folp: Infinite nombze is dystroyed in warre,
 & one alone shal beare away the glozp therof: And though
 such miserable conquerours merited not to be buried, yet
 whan I went through the stretes of Rome (I tell it as a
 secreete betwene the and me) that whan the charpot trium-
 phant came, and the unhappp prysoners charged with
 prysons, remembrynge the infinite treasures yll gotten, and
 heyrng the lamentations of the wydowes sorowfully we-
 pryng for the death of theyr husoandes, and callynge to
 mynde our manyfolde frendes deed: though I reioyced
 me openly, I wepte droppes of blode secretely. I canne
 not tell what personne taketh pleasure in hym selfe of an
 other mannes damage. In this case I prayse not the
 Assyziens, nor I enuy not the Persians, nor am contente
 with the Lacedemoniens, nor approue the Caldeens, nor
 content me with the Grekes. I curse the Troyans, and
 condemne them of Carthage, bycause they folowed not
 the scale of iustyce, but what they dyd in their tyme was
 with rage of pryde, wherby they and theyr realmes were
 brought into sclaunder, and was occasyon to lese vs. O
 cursed Rome, cursed thou haste ben, and cursed thou shalt
 be. For if the fatal destenies deceiue me not, & myn vnder-
 standynge fayle me not, and that fortune holde not faste,
 we shall see in tyme to come/Rome shall be in lyke case as
 other realmes be nowe in our dayes. And where as nowe
 with tyranny thou arte lady ouer all seignourpes, it shall
 comene by iustyce, that thou shalt tounne to be bonde to
 theym, that are nowe vnder thy bondage. O ylle fortu-
 nate

nate Rome: I say it bycause that vertue is so dere in the
 and makest folpe soo greate cheape. Peradventure thou
 arte moze antentike than Babylon, fayer than Hely, ry-
 cher than Carthage, stronger than Troie, better peopled
 thanne Thebes, moze stored with myppes than Corinthe,
 moze delicious than Thyre, moze incerpugnable than A-
 quille, moze happy than Rumaney: we see howe they all
 are perpyshed, for all they? vertues and valyant defenders
 and thou hopest to abyde perpetually, stored with them &
 be vicious, and peopled with suche as be full of vyce. O
 Rome, marke this for certayne, that the gloie that thou
 hast at this houre, was fyfte theys: and this distruction
 that now is theys, hereafter shall be thyn. My dere fréd
 Cornelius, shall I shewe the the losse of the Romayne
 people, but I can not tell it the without wepyng: I the
 emperout of Rome commaunde, I make decrees for the
 warre: if any countrepe aryse, by sownyng of a troum-
 pette to make menne to reyse they? baners, and to create
 newe Capptaynes. And hit is a thyng very eydente, to
 see, that whan they reyse they? standerdes, and haue leaue
 to make and assaile ennemyes, chyldren leaue they? mo-
 thers, studentes leaue they? scholes, seruauntes, for sake
 they? maysters, and officers they? offyces, to the entente
 that vnder the colour and crafte of goyng to warre, they
 shulde not be chastysed by iustyce. They haue noo feare
 of the goddes, no? reuerence to the temples, no? obedy-
 ence to they? fathers, no? loue no? awe of the people, and
 loue to lyue ydylly, and hate ruste labour, and they? cret-
 cyles are domagcable. Somme do robbe the churches,
 somme make quarelles and stryffes, and some breake
 gates open and beate the goddes away. Sometime they
 take theym that be at libertie, and delpyer theym that
 shulde be ppysoners. They passe the nyghtes in playes,
 and

and the days in blasphemies: Finally they are bnfete to do wel: & are holly disposed to do pl. what shall I say of their negligences: I am ashamed to wyte it. They leaue theyr owne wyues and take other mens. They dysshonour the daughters of honeste men, and beggyle ponge maydens. They enforçe theyr hostesses, and neyghbours wiues: and worst of all, the women that do go with them, sette theym agog that do tarpe. And soo in this maner none of these women that so go, scapeth without losse of honour, and the other are stricken w bices in theyr hartes, bicause they tarpe. Thinke surely Cornelius, that the enterpryses are smalle, where as women do goo to warre. Thou knowest, that the women Amazonas haue made greater warre in Grece, than the cruell ennemies, and not for bycause they had not men ynowe, but bycause they were so many women. Pyrrhus was onercome by Alexander, The valyant capitayne Hanniball was lord of Italy, as long as he suffered no women to come in his warres. And when he was enamoured of a fayre ponge damopsell of Capue, he was faine forthwith to turne his back to Rome, bicause Rome clenfed the felde fro lecherie. For the same cause Rumanie was caste to the erthe. And I my selfe haue sene in the warre of Parthes. xviij. M. horse men. lxxx. M. fote men, and. xxxv. M. women. And our besines went so, that fro our hoste I sent away Faustine my wyfe, and so dydde ocher senatours their wyues home to theyr houses, to the intent that they shulde serue them that were olde, and bring vp theyr chyldren. That daye that a Patricion is approued by the Senate, and ledde aboute Rome by the Consules, the egle is hanged at his breste, and his rayment is reade, and he after tpsleth in suche pryde, that he remembereth not the pouertye of the tyme passed, but thynketh to be emperour of Rome forthwith. Beholde than what they

they do. They with their berdes, and ruffle their heares,
 boystous their wordes, they chaunge theyr clothes, & rolle
 their eien, that they may seme the fiercer. And finally, they
 loue to be feared, & hate to be loued. And wotest thou not,
 that they wyll be feared: On a day beyng at Pentapolyn,
 I harde a capitayne of myne, not seinge me, swere & blas-
 pheme, sayenge to a woman his hostesse: ye byllaynous
 people, wyll not knowe the capytaynes of warre: I wyll
 thou knowest mother, that the erthe neuer trembleth, but
 whan it is thret of a capitayne Romaine: and god neuer
 causeth the sonne to shyne, but where as we be obeyed.
 But nowe frende Cornelius, sythe I haue blasoned his
 haunt, harken his vertue and worthynesse. I swere to the
 that the sayd capytayne, for all his boiste, beyng in a cru-
 ell battayle, was the fyrste that fled alone fro the batayle,
 and lefte the standerd: wherin he dydde inough, to cause
 me lose the field. But whan it was done I caused to strike
 of his heed. It is an infallyble rule, that they that shewe
 them selfe moste fierse, in effecte are moste cowardes.
In dyuers bookes I haue redde, and of diuers I haue
 harde, and in many I hane seene, that it can not fayle in a
 man that can suffre and take patience, to haue vertue and
 force: And it is meruayle, that he is stronge and valyant,
 that can not suffre. What shall I say more of the greues
 and domages, that these menne of warre do, in passynge
 throughe realmes, & of thestes and robberies, that they com-
 mytte in the houses, where as they lodge: I ensure the, the
 wyne in þe tymbre, nor the mothes in the clothes, nor the
 sparckle in the towne, nor the daniel amonge the cozne, nor the
 we sell among the grayn, nor þe caterpyllers in frupt trees,
 dothe not so moche damage, as one compaigne of menne
 of warre dothe hurte the pooze people. They leaue no
 cattayle vnslayne, no gardeyne vnrobbed, no wylde beast
 do vncha-

chased, no; no mayde vndecloured: and yet which is worse
 they eate without payment, and they wyl not serue with-
 out payement, no; no man can conuerse & endure amonge
 them. Whan they are payd, by and by they play it away:
 if they be not payde, they robbe, and grudge: and the case
 is come to so great corruption, that if thou sawest it, thou
 woldest saye, that eche of them were the heed of rumour,
 and the begynnynge of stryfe, payson to vertues, Pryate
 of rouers, and capitayne of all wretched theues. I say not
 this without wepyng. It is the greatteste mockynge of
 all mockeries: and the cause goeth to suche losse and par-
 dition, that these myscheuous people are our homely & fa-
 miliar enmies: & yet there is no emperour, that can haue
 lordshyppe ouer them, no; iustyce chastyse them, no; feare
 withdraue them, no; lawe subdue them, no; shame restrain
 them, no; dethe that can kyll them, for they be men reme-
 dylesse: They ouerrenne, and eate, and dispoyle euery
 manne. O how sorowfull I am for the Rome, that was
 not wont to haue in the suche yll aduentures. Certaynly
 in the auncyent tyme whan thou were peopled with right
 and trewe Romayns, and not as thou arte now with ba-
 starde chylderne, than the armies, that wente froo Rome,
 were as well disciplyned and mozierate, as the schooles
 of the philosophies, that were in Grece. The olde auncy-
 ent hystories wytnesse, that kynge Philyp of Macedony,
 and his sonne Alexander, were happy in warre, bicause they
 kepte theyr armyes soo well ordered, that it seemeth bet-
 ter, to be a senate ruled, than an armie that wolde fyghte.
 I sweare to the by myn honestie, that fro the tyme of Quin-
 tus Cincinatus, vnto the noble Marcus Marcellus (in
 the whiche tyme was the greattest prosperitie of Rome)
 the common people had great gloze, as longe as the dys-
 cipline of knyghthoode was wel corrected: and we be-
 gan

gaine to lose, whan our capptaynes beganne to deserue,
 to be depzaued and condempned. O cursed be thou Asye,
 and cursed be the day, that we hadde conquest of the. The
 goodnes that hath folowed therby, we se it at our eye: and
 the domage that is come by the, shall alwayes be sorowed
 In the we haue wasted our treasures, and thou haste fyl-
 led vs with thy vyces: In chaunge of stronge and ver-
 tuous men, thou hast sent thy wantons to vs: We haue
 overcome thy cyties, and thou triumphest of our vertues:
 we haue beaten downe thy fortresses, & thou hast distroied
 our good customes: by force thou arte become ours, and
 with our good wylles, we are now we thyne. Unjustely we
 are lordes of thy realmes, and we are iust subiectes to thy
 vices. Finally, thou Asye shalt be the sepulchre of Rome,
 and thou Rome shalt be the syncke and gutter of the fyl-
 thyness of Asye. Certaynly Rome ought to haue ben con-
 tent with the landes of Italy, whiche is the nauyll of the
 world, without conquering the landes of Asye, to bereue
 them from other. I lyke wel al thinges that I haue red of
 my pcedecessours, sayynge that they were proude, as we
 they: successours be to hardy. And I sweare vnto the, that
 yet peraduenture, after the peyne, we shall become ver-
 tuous and good. All the ryches and triumphes, that our
 fozefathers haue broughte out of Asye, the goodes and
 the rychesse, and they also, with the tyme at laste hadde an
 ende: but the wantonnesse and vyces, that are in vs they:
 chyldren, doothe remayne styll vnto this daye. I wolde
 to god, that the princis knewe, what an outragious thing
 it is, to inuente warres in straunge landes and countreis,
 and what trauaple they seeche in they: persons, and what
 thoughtes in their myndes, and what murmure and moci-
 on in they: subiectes, what ende and wastinge of they: ry-
 chesses and treasures. What pouertye to they: frendes,

DD II what

what plesure to they? ennemies, what domage to their na-
 tiue countreys, and what payson they leaue to their owne
 enherytours? I sweare to the, that if I had knowen, that
 I do knowe (I wyll not say, but by bloude shedde they be
 taken) if they had offered them selfe with good wyll, and
 shedynge of teares, I wolde not haue taken theym. The
 trowth is, that our capytaynes neuer slewe. xx. M. men of
 Asie, with they? armour, that they bare out of Italy, but
 they losse mo than a C. M. Romainys, with the vices that
 they brought to Rome: As eatynge openly in the palayes
 Ausonios, suppyng in their houses secretly, the women
 to cloth them as men, & the men peynted as women. The
 Patritiens bearynge Heasques, The Plebeyens vsinge
 smelles, and the emperours to weare purpull. These. vii.
 vices of Asie. Asie sent for a present to Rome. Seue noble
 capitayns broughte them, I leaue to shewe they? names,
 lest I shulde shame theym with they? faultes, syth they
 were so noble men by they? hyghe dedes. Nowe ye princis
 beholde what profite it is, to take straunge realmes with
 our warres: I leaue the vices, that they recouer, and the
 vertues that they lese, with the perdition of they? treasure
 that they loue. For certayne there is nether kynge nor
 realme broughte to extreme pouertye, but by warringe a
 straunge realme, with fynall and extreme conquest. I de-
 maund of the myne owne frend Cornelius, What causeth
 princis to lese they? treasure, and require theym of other?
 Whan their owne can not suffyse, then they take fro chur-
 ches, serche dyuers lones, reyse tributes, and inuent newe
 subsidies, gyne and spende on straungers, and make him
 selfe hated of his owne, pray euery man, and haue nede of
 euery man: aduenture his persone, and aduenture his re-
 noume: If thou kneweste not this, I wyll tell the, yf thou
 wylt here me. These princis counsell with men, they lyeue
 with

with men, and fynally at the last they are men. At one tyme by pryde, that surmounteth them, an other tyme by counsell, that fayleth them, some imagininge by theyr fantasies, some sayinge, that yf he haue great goodes, he ought to encrease his fame, and that no memory shuld be of him if he inuented no warre, & that the emperour of Rome by right, is lord of al the erth. And in this maner, as his fortunes is base, & his thoughtes hygh, the goddis suffre, & whā he thinketh iustly to wyne an other mans, than iustly he loseth his owne. O princis, I can not tell what begyleth you, for where as ye maye be ryche with pleasure, ye wyl be poore with warre: where as ye maye be beloued, ye wyl be hated: where as ye may play and spozte your selfe, and reste in a sure lyfe, ye wyl commytte your selfe to the chaūces of fortune: and where as other haue necessitie of you, ye put your selfe to be in the necessitie of other. And though the prince make no warre, he shuld not suffre his people to warre: Euery manne ought to leaue his warre. frend. Cornelius, I demaund of the, whether is more traualle to his persone, or damage to his realme, a kynges ennemies, or els his owne armie? His ennemies robbe on the costes, but our men robbe all the londe. The enemyes maye be resisted, but we dare not speake to our owne men. The enemies enuade vs on one day, and reclude backe ageyn, but our garisons robbe dayly, and abyde styll. The straūgers haue some feare, but ours are shameles: and at the laste, the farther that our ennemies go, the more they waxe liberall, and our armies of men, euery daye encrease in crueltie, in suche wyse, that they offend the goddis, and be importunate to theyr princes, and noyfull to the people lyupnge to the damage of euery man, and be vnprofyttable to all men. By the god Mars, I swere to the, and as I maye be holpen in the warres, that I gouerne with my

Ad iii hande

hande, I haue no complayntes dayly from the senate on
the capytaynes that ben in Illyrike, than on all the enne-
mies of the Romaine people: I haue moze feare in main-
teynynge one standarde of a hundzed menne, than to giue
battayle to .l. M. ennemys. For the goddis and fortune
dispathe a battayle in an houre, be it good or badde: but
with these other, I can do nothyng in al my lyfe. Thus it
hath ben my freude Cornelius, and thus it is, and thus it
shall be. Thus I founde it, thus I holde it, and thus I
shall leaue it. Our fathers dyd inuente it, and we susteyne
it, that be theyr chyldren, and for ylle, it shall abyde to our
heyrres. I say to the one thyng, and I thynke I am not de-
ceyued therin: To endure so great damage, and to no pro-
fytte of the people, I thynke it a great folly in man, or els a
great punishment of the goddis. Be the goddis soo iuste
in all iustyce, and so true in all veritie, that they wyll suf-
fre vs without reason, to do yll in strange landes, to whom
we dydde neuer good, and in our owne howses to haue
shewde tournes of them, to whome we haue alwaye done
good: These thynges frend Cornelius, I haue writen to
the, not bycause I thynke it nedefull, that thou shouldeste
knowe it: but my spirite resteth in shewyng of it. Pau-
lus my secretarie went to visite this lande, and on the way
I gaue hym this letter, and I do sende to the two horses,
I thynke they be good. The armour and iewels, that I
won on the Parthes, I haue departed them. Now be it, I
sende the a chariot of them. My wyfe Faustyne salutethe
the, and sendeth to thy wyfe a riche glasse, and an ouche of
precious stones to thy doughter: I beseeche the goddis, to
gyue the good lyfe and me a good death. Marcus thy lo-
ue writeth to the Cornelius his frende.

To

C To Torcates beinge at Gayette, in consolation of his banishment.

C The.iii.letter.



Arke of mount Celio, companion of the empire, to the Torcate, beinge at Gayette, patricien Romayn, salute to thy person, and vertue and force agaynst aduers fortune. It is a thre monthes, sythe I receyued thy letter, the whiche myn eyes myght not make an ende to rede, nor my handes to answer. I am so heuy for thy heuinesse, so peynfull for thy peyn, and so hurt with thy wound, that where as thou wepest with thyn eyes outwardly, I weepe with my harte inwardly. I wote what difference is betwene the tree and the cropp, and the dreame fro the trouthe: I here of thy trauayles by straunge persons, and I fele them in myn owne person. But where as true frendes be, the peynes are in comen. The greate infortunes ought to be suffered for one thynge, bycause they declare, who ar the true frendes. I knowe by thy letter, howe thou arte banished from Rome, and all thy goodes confyscate, and that for pure heynnes thou arte sycke in thy body. I wolde go se the, and counsaile thy person, bycause that thou myghtest see, with what harte and wyl, I doo wepe for thy mysadventure. But yf thou take me for thy trewe frende, beleue me, as I beleue the, that is, howe moche I feele thy mysadventure. Of trouthe, as thou arte banished bodyly, soo am I banished inwardly in my harte. And yf thy goodes or substaunce be taken awaye fro the, I am robbed of a good frende and companyon. And yf thou lackeste thy frendes, I am abydyng amonge myn ennies. Though I myght remedy by workynge of my power, thy banishment: yet I wyl counsaile thy spirite with certayn wordis

I

If I be not forgetfull, I neuer sawe the contente in this lyfe: bycause thou were euer besye in thy prosperitie, and wery of any aduersitie. And as now, I se the dyspayre, as though thou were but new come into this worlde. I haue knowen the this .xxxii. yeres in great ioy: and nowe thou complaynest of .vi. monethes, that fortune hath tourned her whele. O Corcate, nowe thou mayst knowe, that vertuous men, feare more two dayes of prosperitie than two hundred of aduersie fortune. O howe many menne, and howe many ryche cyties haue thou and I sene, slyppe fro their prosperities, throughe they? vycyous lyuynge and straunge enimities: In suche wyse, that they? daynglorre and slypper prosperitie, endured but two dayes: and the hurtes and losse that they haue hadde, and the cruell and extreme enimities, the whiche also that they haue wonne, lasteth to this daye in their heires. Contrarye wyse, we see some set in the heyght of trybulations, the which haue escaped by castynge away vyces, clothynge them with vertues, wery of euyll warkes, folowynge goodnes, beyng frendes to all, and enemies to none. What wylte thou, that I shulde say more? They that are happpe, are overcome in peace, and they that are unhapppe, do overcome other in warre. Therfore my frende Corcate, it semeth to me, no lesse necessite, to gyue good counsaile, than to prosper with great prosperitie, to remedy them that are in greit heuynesse. For as wery are they, that go the playn way, as they that costeth the hyghe mountaynes. By thy letter I perceyue, that what tyme thou hopedst to haue ben in most quietnes and rest, this yll fortune and chaunce fell on the. Be not abashed therof. For though that all newe chaunces causeth newe thoughtes presently, yet therby cometh more cause of stedfastnes in tyme to come. Certaynly the tree beareth not so moche fruite, there as it spryngeth first

as it dothe whan it is newe set in an other place. And all good smelles are moze odoziferous, if they be wel medled and chaufed togyther. I pray the tell me, abydyng in the worlde, beinge a chyld of the same, and louing the worlde, what hopest thou to haue of the worlde, but worldly thinges? the worlde shall alwayes be the worlde. At this houre thou art worldly, and shalt be worldly, and shalt be entreated as the worlde is accustomed to entreate theym that be worldly. If thou knewest thy selfe and thy weakenesse, yf thou knewest fortune and her mutation, if thou kneweste the men and their malices, if thou knewest the worlde, and the flatterynge therof, chou wouldest reyse the fro the hande therof with honour, and not be chastysed with infampe. O howe we hope to spede by fortune? O how often without respecte vnwares we passe this lyfe? O howe often we truste the bobaunce of this worlde? and we trust therein as moche as though it neuer begyled man. I say it not because I haue harde it sayde, no; bycause I haue redde it in bookes: but for we se it dayly with our eies, somme decays and lese their goodes, other fall and loose their credence, some falle in syght, and leese their honour, and other arise and lose theyr lyues, and some thynke, that all are free by pryuilege, where as neuer none were pryuileged. O my frende Torcate, of one thyng I am certayne, and let euery man take it for a warnyng: Men, by whom we be bozne, be of so yll disposition, and the worlde so fierse and cruel, with whom we lyue, and the glydyng serpente fortune so full of popson, that they hurte vs with their fete, & bitye vs with their teethe, and scratche vs with theyr nayles, and swelle vs with their popson, soo that the passynge of the lyfe is no lesse than takynge of deathe. And in case thou haste sene somme lyue longe without any falle of fortune, thynke not it is well, for it is not by good aduenture, but

Ce the

the moze his yll fortune. The worlde is so malicious, that if we take not hede to prepare against his wrynches, it wyl ouerthrowe vs to our greater losse and hurt. Noche sooner dye they that ben helthful with the infirmities & spekenes of few days, than they that be weke with their lagour of many yeres. I say this because I hold it for most suretie, that the myserable manne, that maye not lyue without myseries, shulde fele the paynes by lyttell and lyttell, and not all at ones. We eate diuers thinges by morsels, which if we shulde eate hole, wold choke vs. In lyke wyse by diuers dayes we suffre diuers trauayles, whiche al toggyder wolde make an ende of vs in one day. And than sythe the goddis wyl permytte, that thy mysfortune shall fall, and that the ryuer of thy decay ouerflowe her channell, & where thou wenest to be most sure, thou shalt be in greatest peryll, we shall minister to the a spyoe, to thentent that thou lose not thy good renoume, though thou haue losse thy goodis that be nought. Telle me I praye the Torcate, why complainest thou, as he that is sycke? why criest thou lyke a foole? why syghest thou as a desperate man? why wepest thou as a chyld? Thou hast gone an yll way, and complainest of thy reste. Thou arte clothed to goo throughe bushes, and thou sayest that thy gownes do teare. Thou walkest amonge the stoones, and arte sorre because thou fallest. Thou hast leaned, and thoughtest not to fal, and finally thou arte sette with the worlde, and thynkest to be free with heuen. Wylte thou haue sauveconduite of Fortune, that is enemye to many? She can not giue the naturalitie, whiche is mother to all thynges. I wyl be the one thyng: I put case the see hadde promysed the, to be alway in suretie of her, and the skye clere wether, the sommer snowes, and the wynter flowres. It wyl not be of a suretie Torcate. If nature canne not fulfille this, beinge
thy

thyn owne mother, thinkest thou than, that fortune wylle
 gyue it the, whiche is thy vniuste stepmother: Kepe this
 rule for certayne, and neuer forget it, that al natural cour-
 ses are subiectes to mutation euery yere. And all worldely
 folke that truste on fortune, shall suffre eclyps euery mo-
 ment. And than such naturall thynges can not be alwayes
 in one case, of necessitie the goodis of fortune muste pe-
 ryshe, sythe they be superfluitie. Ryght vniuste shulde the
 ryghtwysse goddis be, yf they had made perpetuall that,
 whiche is damageable to so many: O that whiche is pro-
 fitable, to haue created it fallible. I wylle speake no moze
 of thy prosperitie in tymes paste, but nowe I wyl com-
 me to the banishment that thou sufferest presently. Suspe-
 cious fortune made a fayre at thy gate, knowynge what
 she solde: and thou wylste not what thou boughtest: She
 made a dere bargayne, and solde it dere to the: she hath
 gyuen the sowre for swete, and the swete is tourned into
 sowrenesse for the: she hath gyuen the yuell for good, and
 hath tourned thy good to yl. And finally she hath begyled
 the at a iuste price, not wenyng to the that she wold haue
 done the damage: and though that she was malycious in
 sellynge to the, thou were no lesse foolyshe in the byenge
 therof: for the moze there is in fortunes shoppe, the moze
 suspecte is the marchandise. O howe vnhappy be we, for
 in that market is nothyng sold but lyes. And she trusteth
 nothyng but vppon the pledges of our renoume: and at
 laste wyl not be payde but with the shotte of our lyfe, and
 that is the mooste greatteste and myscheuous wounde.

It is as openly knowen to euery man as to the, that where
 as they thynke not to leese theyr wares, false fortune in
 that they purpose, to theyr myshappe lyeth in awayte, and
 is redy to bye them. Thou makest me very sore abashed
 Tozcate. I haue reputed the ryght wysse and vertuous,

and nowe I take the fo; a losse foole. In good sothe whan
 I sawe the ponge in Gayette, I iudged the wo;thp to go-
 uerne Rome: and nowe that thou art olde, thou deseruest
 nothyng but to be cast in a galep as a sclaue. O howe ma-
 ny thynges are there to knowe a man by? There is not so
 hyghe a toppe of a hylle, but it is troden with feete: nor
 soo depe a see, but it is sounded with leade. And in a hun-
 dred yeres one manne can not attayne to knowe an other
 mannes harte. Telle me I praye the, what lookedste thou
 fo; of fortune, after soo greatte welthe? A pupnge to the
 worlde, thynke to be in the worlde. The chyldren of vanite
 goo and walke soo longe, that at laste they; diso;dynate
 desyre canne not take fro the worlde their antike vilanyes
 and shamfulnes, the whiche fortune dothe not with them
 that she hathe repesed vnto the skyes, thynkeste than, that
 she shal bowe with the to the loweste parties? O sole Toy-
 cate, thoughteste thou to passe the see without peryll, to
 eate fleshe withoute bones, To d;ynke wyne withoute
 lyes, to walke in the wayes without syndynge stones, To
 bye wheate without chaffe? In good soth, if thou thought-
 est to bye pl goodes without hind;ance of thy good fame,
 and to maynteyn thy good renome without losse of pl got-
 ten goodes, I wolde wytte of the, what thou dydest hope
 to do, lithe soo longe season thou haste made a face in the
 worlde. xxxiii. yere thou hast ben in the grace of the worlde,
 nowe it is tyme fro hensforth to fall at some diso;de ther-
 with, Abell, kyng of the Assiriens, hoped to haue but seue
 yeres of good prosperitie. Queene Smitramis but one-
 ly syre. Abell kyng of the Lacedemoniens syue, Eutrete
 kyng of the Caldeens. iiii. Alexander kyng of the gre-
 kes. iii. Ampleat the great of Carthage but two, and our
 Gaius Cesar Romaine but one onely, and many befoze
 and sythe not one yere: And lithe thou were the mooste vn-
 known

known of lynage, the grosseste of vnderstandynge, and the leaste of power, the darkeste of fame, and the most weake in merites: wherfore than complayneste thou on fortune? If thou haddest ben vertuous in all these. xxx. yeres, thou haddest neuer eaten without thoughte, no; neuer spoken without suspicion, no; slepte without stertyng, thinking what thou haddest to do, and wherin fortune myghte begyle the. He that is so longe besette aboute with soo many enemies, I can not tell howe he shuld take any sure slepe. Ah Toxate Toxate, the worlde hath so many falles, and we knowe so yll howe to continue amonge theym, that be worldly, that scantly we are fallen whan our handes and fete lyke sclaves be so faste tyed, that we can not lose them. It fylleth our persons full of vices, strengtheth our sinnes to wickednes, weaketh our hartes in vertues, and finally rendyeth our spirites in a traunce, and maseeth our vnderstandynge, and chaungeth our taste, and suffereth vs as bestes to shewe our euylles that we fele with waylynge, all though as men we durst not shew it. And that this is true, it appereth, that whanne we see, that we lose, we lament and complayne, and none can helpe hym selfe. This smal lesson I writte to the, to the ende thou shuldest lyue in lesse thoughte. The horse colte that thou dyddeste sende me, leapeth verp well: The spanpell that thou sente to me, is well, but he is wylde: the calfe was verpe fatte, and I wolde haue eaten it forthwith, but my wyfe Faustyn besily prayed me to kepe it, and thynketh that it was stolen in a gardeyne. I sende to the. ii. M. secters for to succour the in thy trauaples. And as touchinge thy banishment, at tyme conuenient I shal dispatch thy matters with the senate. The consolation of the goddis, and the loue of man be with the Toxate. The sodenness of euils, and the pye of the furies be seperate froo me Marcus Aurelius

Et.iii. relius

relius. Faustyn my wyfe greteth the, and in lyke wise fro
her parte and ours, to thy mother in lawe, and thy wyfe
haue vs recomended. Marc of Rome sendeth this wy-
tyng to Torcate of Capette.

A letter sent to Domitius of Capue to com-
forte hym in his banishment.
The fourth letter.



Arke oratour Romayn, boꝛne on mount
Celio, to the Domitian of Capue salute
and consolation of the goddis consola-
tours. In this right colde wynter there
arose in this lande a myghty gret wynd,
and by reason of the great wynde arose
great quantitie of waters, and the wa-
ters haue caused great humidities, and great humidities
bꝛede dyuers maladies and diseases: and amonge all the
infirmities of this lande I haue the goute in my hande,
and the ciatica in my legge. Foꝛ the helth of my wyfe Fau-
stine I can neyther go noꝛ write. I sape it bycause I can
not write to the so longe as the case wolde requyre, and as
thy thanks meryteth, and my desyre coueteth. It is Me-
wed me, that by occasion of a hoys thou hast had strif with
Patticio thy neyghbour, & that thou art banished fro Ca-
pue, and set in the prison Hamartyn. Thy goodis are co-
fisked, and thy chyldꝛen banished, thy house caste downe,
and thy newwe is putte out of the senate, and banysshed
the senate foꝛ .x. yeres. It is tolde me, that all the daye
thou wepest, and wakest by nyght: in company thou diest,
and doest loue to reste solytarilye: Thou hateste pleasure,
and louest pensuenes. And I haue no meruayle: foꝛ the
sorowfull hartes lyue with teares and wepyng, and be
mery

mercy & laugh in blenge. I am ryght sozpy to se the lost: but moche moze, that so; so smalle a thyng thou shuld be cast away, as so; a hoys to lese al thyn estate. O howe variable is fortune, and howe soone a mysaduenture falleth befoze our eyes: Fortune gyueth these euyls, & we see it not: with her handes she toucheth vs, and we fele it not: she treadeth vs vnder fete, and we knowe hit not: she speaketh in our eares, and we here her not: she crieth aloude vnto vs, and we vnderstande her not: and this is bycause we wyl not knowe her: and finally, whan we thynke we are moste surest, than are we in moste peryll. Trough it is, that with a lyttell wynde, the fruyte falleth fro the tree: and with a lyttell sparckle the house is sette a fyre: a small rocke breaketh a greatte shyppe: and with a lyttell stone the legge is hurte. I saye, that oftentyme of that we feare not, cometh greatte peryll. In a close fistula, rather than in an open, the surgiens doubteth the peryll: In depe styll waters the pilote feareth moze than in the great hye wawes: Of secret enbushment, rather than of open armies, the warrior doubteth. I wyl not onely say of straungers, but of hys owne propre, not of ennemyes, but of frendes, not of cruelle warre, but of peace, not of open damage or sleaunders, but of secreete peryll and myschiese, a wylse man ought to beware. Howe many haue we sene, that the chances of Fortune coulde not abate, and yet within a shorte whyle after, vnwarenes with great ignomyntous shame hath ouerthrowen them? I wolde witte of the, what reste can a persone haue, that trusteth euer vpon the prosperitie of fortune, syth so; so lyght a cause we haue sene so great a strep in Rome, and suche a losse to thy howse? Seynge that I see, I wyl not feare the wyndes of her trauayles, no; beleue in the clerenesse of her pleasures, no; her thunders shal not feare me, no; wil trust vpon her flatteringes,
no;

no: thanke her fo: that she leueth with me, no: be so:pe fo:
 that she taketh froo me, no: wake fo: any trouthe that she
 sayth to me, no: ryle fo: any of her leaspnges, no: lawghe
 fo: any thyng that she despyeth of me, no: wepe fo: gruing
 me leaue. If thou knowest not the cause of this, I shal tel
 the. Our lyfe is so doubtfull, and fortune so waywarde,
 that she dothe not alway threate in strykyng, no: striketh
 in thyetnyng. The wyle man gothe not soo temperately,
 that he thynketh at euery steppe to falle, no: lyue with so
 smalle a thought, to thynke to ouerthrowe in euery playn
 pathe. fo: oftentimes false fortune shaketh her weapon,
 and striketh not, and an other tyme strykyth without sha-
 kyng. Beleue me of one thyng Domitius, That parte
 of the lyfe is in mooste peryll, whan with lyttell thoughte
 o: care men thynke them selfe moost sure. Wylt thou se the
 trouthe therof. Cal to thy minde Hercules, that scaped fro
 many perylls by see and by lande, and yet dyed betwene
 his lēmans armes. Laomedon perished not vnder Troy,
 but was slayne in his howse. Greate Alexander dyed not
 in makynge warre ouer all the erthe, but he ended with a
 lyttell popson. The couragious Caius Cesar saued hym
 selfe in. lii. battayles, and after in the senate was slayne
 with. xxxii. strokes of penknyues. Alcibiades brother of Dom-
 peie, perished not flotynge. xxii. yere bypon the see, but he
 was drowned after in drawynge water at a welle. Tenne
 capitains that Scipio had with him in Affrike, that van-
 quished many harde batayles, as they were mockyng on
 a byrde, they fel fro the byrde, and were drowned. Good
 Darius that had ouercome the Parthes, the day of his tri-
 umph, goyng to his charpot, there felle a tyle that claued a-
 sonder his heed, soo that bayneglozie was the ende of his
 good lyfe. what shuld I tel the moze? Thou knowest well
 that Lucye my syster, haupyng a nedel on her bosom, play-
 enge

enge with her chylde betwene her armes, the chylde with
 his hande hytte the nedell suche a stroke into her bodye,
 that he slewe his mother. Sneo Ruffyn the consulle, sente
 agaynste the Germayus, of our tyme was so valpauite in
 armes, that none of our predecessours surmounted hym:
 yet he kembynge his olde whyte heares, one of the teethe
 of the combe entred into his heed, wherby grewe an im-
 posture, by occasyon wherof he ended his honorable lyfe
 for soo small a case. Howe semethe the Domitius: As I
 do tell the of so small a nombze, I coude recyte infynite ex-
 amples, what myffortunes fell after good fortunes, what
 mischaunce after great gloze, what mysadventure after
 great happe, what greatte euill they take of theyr deathe,
 after the begynnynge of greatte welthe in the lyfe. I be-
 ynge as they, knowe not what to desyre, but they beynge
 as I am, wyl rather chuse the labourous and honourable
 deathe, than an yll death and an honourable lyfe. To my
 semyng he, that wyl be a man amonge men, and not a
 beaste amonge bestes, ought to trauayle soze to lyue well,
 and moche moze to dye better. For at the fynall ende an
 yll deathe putteth great doubte of the good lyfe: and the
 good deathe excuseth the yll lyfe, I haue wrytten to the at
 the begynnynge of my letter, that by reason of the hump-
 dities, the gowte greueth me ylle. But to satisfye thy de-
 syre, I wolde fayne wryte with my hande moze at lengthe.
 Two dayes the loue that I bare to the, hath faught with
 the payne that I endure. My wylle wolde wryte, but my
 fyngers can not holde my penne. The remedy is, sithe I
 may not as I wolde, that thou wylt take as thynne owne,
 that I may do, as myne owne dede. Faustine my wyfe sa-
 luteth the, who by reason of my dysseases, is halfe ylle at
 ease. It is shewed her, that thou haste greatte payne of a
 hurte of thy face, she hath sente the a boxe with baume.

If

that

that thy hurt shal not appere in thy visage. If thou canst fynde any grene almondes or new nuttis, Faustine prayeth the, to sende her some by this bearer. I haue but lyttell store of money, therfore I sende the a gowne, and thy wife a kytell. No more, but I pray the goddis to giue the that I desire for the: and to giue me, that thou desireste for me. And beside, that I do wryte to the with my hande, I giue to the myne owne propre harte.

A letter sente fro the emperour to Claudius and
Claudyne his wyfe, bycause they being
olde, lyued as yonge persons
¶ The. v. letter.



Marke of moūt Celio to the Claudius and
Cladine husbände and wyfe, dwellinge in
my warde, I desyre helthe, sendynge you
this letter. The trouthe is, bycause ye are
my frendes, & vnder my charge, I enquire
of them that come fro you, of your estates:
and by theym that goo to you, I sende recominendations
to you bothe: yf ye haue my good wyll, demaunde hit of
your hartes. And yf in your stomacke ye repete and take
me but as a suspicious frende, thanne I thynke my selfe
euen cleane condemned. The cruelle forgetfulnesse, the
whiche may be causer of myne absence, peraduenture ba-
nysheth the good dedes, that ye haue receyued of my per-
sonne. If in any thyng I haue entreated you with lyes,
than I require, that ye entreate me nothyng with trouth.
But yf I haue bene alwayes your good neyghbour and
frende, yf ye haue any nede of myne honour, thanne be to
me as good. Sayd I nion my frende, as well as your pa-
rent, passynge this waye to Alexandre, hathe shewed me
many

many thynges, the whiche were done in Rome: & amonge
other, he shewed me one thyng, that caused me to laugh,
whan I hard it: and yet it was ryght greuous to me, whā
I thought thereon. Somme thynges we take sodenly in
spozte and mockerie, the whiche afterwarde, well conside-
red, maketh vs verpe sorpe. He shewed me, howe that ye
seme to euery man right auncient, and very yong in your
dounge: for you aray your selfe dayly with newe apparell,
as ye shulde go to weddynges: and where as men do ho-
nour you as ancient persons, ye shewe your selfe wanton:
and whan folke renne to se getwages, ye ar not the laste.
There is no lyghtnes in Rome, but it is registred in your
house. Thus ye gyue your selfe to pleasures, as they that
thynke neuer to haue displeasure. And fynally, whanne ye
shulde lyfte vp your handes, ye entre newly into the wa-
ges of the worlde. Cruely my neyghbours and frendes, to
speake with dewe reuerence, I am ashamed of your vn-
shamefastnes, and am no lesse sorp for your fautes. There
be dyuers greuous fautes, that are made lyghte by the
honeste withdrawyng of them. And some other that are
but smal fautes, and syndyng no waye to leaue them, are
esteined very great. By all the goddis, I can fynde none
occasion, how for to excuse your euylles: but I see inowe,
wherwith to condemne theym. Wherfore pardon me, yf
that I seme vnhoneste to speake so moch, whan ye be not
honeste in your lyuyng. In good sothe I denaye not, but
that thou Claudius haste bene ryght free and lyberalle of
thy person, and thou Claudine ryght fayre of vpsage, and
mauy persons for the beautie of thy forhed haue ben curi-
ous to haue had the to wife, but I wold wit of þ youth of
the one, & beautie of the other, in vspng al your liues in va-
nitie, what goodly trinkettes ye hope to werc in the strait-
nes of the Sepulchre. O great foles, ye and foles agayne,

Do you not knowe yet, that the tynie fleeth with mouyng
of wynges: The lyfe trauayleth on her way without lye-
tyng of her fete: fortune sterceyth her without styrynge
her armes, & the worlde voydeth it selfe sayenge nothyng,
the fleshe consumeth without felynge, and our glozpe pas-
seth as it neuer had ben: and fynally dethe assaileth vs er
ener he knocke at the gate. Certaynely it is impossyble for
to make synewes of blode, of veynes to make bones, of a
craggy rocke a playne way, and of possyble to make impos-
syble. I meane that none shall thynke but that the grene-
nes of yowthe shall waste and wydder in age. O worlde,
what a world art thou: so lyttell is our foze, and our weke-
nes so great, that without respyrynge drownest vs wyl-
lyngly in the depenes of thy peryllous whyllepoole: and
hydest vs in the thyekest of thy mountaynes, and ledest
vs out of the brode way, wandrynge by thy narrow pathes
and byngest vs into the rugged waye. I doo meane, that
they that be greattest in fauour, thou byngest into daun-
ger, to the entente that with one stroke of thy foote, thou
mayst ouerthrowe them. O worlde. lii. yere I haue benne
in the, and yet thou neuer saydest one trouthe to me, and
I haue taken the with. x. M. lyes. I neuer desyzed any
thyng of the, but thou dyddest promyse hit me, but thou
neuer gauest me any thyng promised me: I neuer treted
with the, but thou begyledste me: I neuer arryued at the,
but thou loste me: I neuer sawe thyng in the, wherby I
shulde loue the. For all that we see in the, is worthy to be
abhorred. And besyde this, I wote not what is the world.
O what faute is in vs thy worldly wretches: For yf thou
hate vs, we dare not hate the: yf thou braule with vs, we
musse be styll: yf thou spurne at vs, we musse suffre the:
if thou beate vs with a staffe, we saye nothyng: And yet
yf thou woldest haue vs gone, we wyl not go. And worste
of

of all is, that we hadde rather serue the for nothing with
 traualle, thanne the goddis with praye and rest. I swere
 to the by the immortall goddis, that oftentimes I make
 account of my yeres passed: and an other tyme I reuolue
 my booke, to see what I haue redde. And lykewyse I de=
 maund of my frendes, to geue me counsell to know, wher=
 it is that I wolde speake. I beynge at Rhodes, redynge
 Shetouque, My lord Adrian kepynge me there, at the
 age of .xxi. yere, my yonge fleshe, and no lesse weake than
 tender, at the fyrste worke I found solytarynesse, and the
 solytarynesse with lybertie adored the worlde: In adoryng
 I felte it, in felyng I folowed it, in folowynge I ouertoke
 it, in ouertakynge I toke it, in takynge I proued it, in pro=
 uynge I tasted it, in tastynge I found it bytter, in fyndynge
 it bytter, I hated it, in hatynge it, I felte it, in leatynge
 it, it returned, and retournynge I receyued it. And in
 this maner. In. yeres, we haue eaten of one breadde, and
 dwelled in one house, whan I sawe it displeased, I serued it,
 whan it sawe me thoughtfull it chered me, whan I sawe
 it in prosperitie, I demaunded it, whan it sawe me mery,
 it beggled me. And thus we be togyther vnto this day, not
 geuyng me leaue to goo, nor I wyllynge to departe fro
 it. O worlde, thou hast so many countenaunces in thy va=
 nitie, that thou ledest all wandrynge in vnstablynnes.
 Syth we suffre the to take vs, thou wylt neuer deliuer vs
 if we withdraw our fete fro the snare of fortune, forth with
 thou fettest out legges fast with prynces: and if by chance
 we fyle the prynces, anon thou malicialett out handes: and
 though the way be strait, the pathe sharpe, the iourneys
 longe, and our fleshe weake, yet our bodies are ever laden
 with vices, and our hartes fulfilled with thoughtes and
 penspuenes. Of one thyng I haue great meruaile, and
 I can not denyte what it is: without any consaynt to the

contrary, we go surely ouer the byrpdge, and yet we wyl go
 an other waye: and though the same waye be sure, yet we
 wyl adventure into the gulfre: if the wayes be drye, yet
 wyl we go throughe the dryte and myre and plashe: ha-
 uynge meate for our lyuynge we serche for popson to kyll
 vs: we serche to be lost, and may be assured: withoute in-
 terest we comynpte synne, seinge peyne comynge with-
 all: and fynally, to the entente that we shoulde be taken
 for good, we shote at the whyte of vertues, and hytte the
 butte of vyces. One thyng I confesse, though it be myne
 owne shame, Peradventure in tyme to come it shal be pro-
 fytable to somme other. In .l. yeres of my lyfe, I wolde
 proue all the vyces of this lyfe, to see if any thyng might
 haue satisfied the humayn malyce: And after I had sene
 all thyng, I founde, that the more I dydde eate, the more
 I dyed for hungre: The more I slepte, the more I aggyre
 I was: the more I dranke, the more thyrste I hadde, the
 more I rested, the more werpe I was: the more good I
 hadde, the more couetous I was: the more I soughte, the
 lesse I founde: And fynally I neuer toke peyne for any
 thyng, but I was euer lette: and thanne anone I hadde
 appetite to an other. Lette no manne thynke to lyue in the
 fleshe, and satisfie the fleshe. It hath power to take fro vs
 our lyfe: and we haue no power to take frome it the disor-
 dinate couetyse. I wolde fayne knowe of the goddis, why
 our dayes shulde haue an ende. O cruelle goddis, what
 is this? We ca neuer passe one good lyfes day, we do but
 taste it, and so passeth our lyfe, and lyfe is but a dreame,
 and dethe waketh it. Lette euery manne knowe, that the
 worlde taketh our wyl, and we with our good wyl gyue
 it therto: and it taketh our wylle to the ende to contente
 vs, and praple that we praple, and the tyme passeth so,
 that we lyue after the cursed tyme. To attayne vertues,
 we

we haue good desire: but to attayne to vices we putte to
all our warkes. This haue I sayde for you Claudius
and Claudine, that in thye scole yeres, ye wylle not passe
out of the p[er]sonne of the worlde: Hauyng your
fete putrified with p[er]ons and chaynes. What is thanne
to be hoped of yonge personnes, whiche be of fyue and
twenty yeres olde? Excepte my memoire sayle me, whan
I was wyth you, ye hadde your newewes, sonnes of your
chyldezen maryed, and nyces, doughters of your dought-
ers maryed: and me thynketh, whan the gynes comme,
the season of cheryes is not comme: and whanne the newe
wyne is tounned, the dye huskes are caste out. Canne ye
suffre dyuers newewes, sonnes to your chyldezen, in your
howse, and fewe yeres in your personnes? Verry seldome
we see fruite and the floweres togyther: for whanne the
one is ripe, and in season, than the other is cleane goone
and auoyded.

In this case I thynke greatte maruayle, howe ye can
be of manye yeres, and seeme to be yonge. I knowe none
other thyng, but whanne ye maryed Lambert, your owne
doughter to Dylusio, and Matryne your nyce, dought-
er of your doughter, with Lamberte that were all lytell
and yonge chyldezen: and sythe that ye be of a good aenge,
and lacke good, ye maye geue vnto eche of them twenty
yeres of your aenge, in steede of theyr dower. And soo ye
shal vnlade you of your yeres, and charge you with other
mennes goodes and substaunce. Noo lesse this mattier
passeth in my thoughte, than the shorte clothe doorne in a
falle weuers handes. ye haue strayned it on the tentours,
and drawen it on the perche, for to lengthen the lyfe. If
ye were made faire and clere cordwainers ware, and swete
of sauour, that ye myghte be drawen out at lengthe, hit
were welle doone, but ye are but as fruite of almondes,
seinyng

semynge dye without, and worne eaten within. For the
 loue that I haue to you, and for neyghbourheed that ye
 haue had with me, I desyre all frendshyppe of you, than
 lyke as I knewe you yonge and very yonge, so to knowe
 you olde and very olde. I say not that ye surmount in age,
 but your wytte fayleth you. O Claudius and Claudine,
 I wylle ye knowe, that to susteyne youthe, and to deface
 age, to lengthen the lyfe, and dyue awaye dethe: it is not in
 mennes handes that desyre hit: it is the goddis that doo
 gyue it, whiche accordynge to iustyce and our couetysegy
 ueth vs lyfe by weyghte, and deathe without measure. ye
 may know, that our nature is corruption of our body, and
 our bodye is putrefaction of our wytte, and our wytte is
 guyde to our soule, and our soule is mother of our desy
 res, and our desyres are fleers of our youthe, & our youth
 token of our age, and our age spye of our dethe, and dethe
 the house of our lyfe, wherinto youthe goethe on fote, and
 from age we can not flee on hors backe. I wolde wytte a
 thynge of you: what fynde ye in this lyfe: wherfore dothe
 lyfe content you after. lxxx. yerres of age & eyther ye haue
 ben good or yll: yf ye haue ben good and vertuous, ye shal
 not reioyce you with yll goddis: yf ye haue ben yll, than
 as well desyre deathe, to thentente ye sholde be no more yll:
 or els iustly ye myght be slayn by iustyce. For he that hath
 ben yll tyll. lx. yerres of age, in hym there is no hope of a
 mendmet. Whan the couragious gret Pompeie, & Caius
 Cesar were ennemies, and beynge in cruell ciuil battayles
 Rome was infamed, & them self losse. The annales shew,
 that suche as came in fauour of Julius Cesar, cam out of
 the west, and the succours of Pompeie out of the easte, a
 monge other there came certayne people out of Barbarie,
 dwellyng amonge the mountayns Riffes toward Inde:
 Their custome was, whan they cam to thage of .i. yerres,

to make great fyres, and byenne them selfe quicke in sacrifice to theyr goddis, and the same daye the parentes and chyldren wolde make great feastes, and eate of the fleshe halfe byent, and drynke wyne with the ashes of the bones. This was sene with the eyes of Pompei, bicause that som accomplished the veres of fyrtye in the campe. O golden worlde, wherein were suche men. O happy people, that in all the worldes to come, hath left such a memoire of them. They dispised the worlde, and forgotte them selfe. What strokes gaue they to fortune? What delytes for the fleshe? and how lyttell sette they by theyr lyues, and yet more, to set so small stoze by death? O what bydel was this for the vicious, and what hope for the vertuous, what confusion for them that loued this lyfe, and what ensauple, not to feare dethe, haue they left vs? And such they dispised their owne propre lyfe: it is then to be thoughte, that they dyed, not to thentent to take other mens goodes, to thynke that our lyfe neuer shall haue ende, thertoze our couetyse neuer hath ende. O glorious people, and. x. M. tymes blessed, that lefte theyr sensualitie, and vanquyshe theyr natural wyll, beleue not that ye se, but gyue saythe to that ye neuer sawe, as they that se nothyng go agaynst the fatal destinyes: who goeth agaynst the waye of fortune, gyue a wyynche to the lyfe, robbe the body at the dethe, wyne honour of the goddis, not that they shulde length your lyfe, but to take the reste of the lyfe. Archagatus surgien, and Anthonius the phisitien, and Esculapius the father of medicines, I thynke wanne but lyttell in that lande. Who commaunded these Barbariens to take sirope in the moynyng, and to take pylles at nyght, and to refresh them with myke, to take clere barly to annoynt theyr lyuers, to daye to be lette blode, and to morowe to take a purgation, to eate one thyng, & to absteyn fro many thynges? Than

M A R C V S

me thinke, that they beynge of .l. yere of aeger, and you of
lxxx. at the leaste, shulde be egall with them in wysedome.
And yf we wyl not take deth in good worth, yet at the leest
amende the yll lyfe. I remembze well of a longe tyme, that
Fabricius, our neybour wylled vs, to beware of a mocke-
rie, the whiche yf it be not broken, there shall folowe great
dysshonour. And syth he shewed me soo good a lesson, I
wyl pape you with the same money. I wyl shewe it you,
if ye pooze aged folkes doo not knowe it: ye be suche, that
your eyes are bleared, your noses droppynge, your hea-
res whyte, your herynge dulle, your tongue faulterynge,
your tethe waggyng, your face wryncled, your fete swol-
len, your shulders croked, and your stomake distempered,
finally if the graues coulde speake, they myght ryghtfully
calle for you to come, and inhabyte in them. Of trouthe it
is great compassyon to beholde yonge ignoraunce, that o-
pen theyr eyes, to knowe the infortunes of this lyfe, whan
it is tyme to close them and to entre into the graue. And
therof cometh, that it is inuaine to gyue counsaile to yon-
ge people. For youth is without experiece of that it doth,
and is suspect of that it hereth, and wyl not byleue that is sayd
and dysprayseth other mens counsel, and is ryght poze of their
owne. And therfore I saye Claudius and Claudyne, my
frendes, I fynde without comparyson, none so ylle an ig-
noraunce of goodnes, that holdeth these yonge personnes,
as is the obstinacy of these aged personnes in yll. The dif-
finition of yll, is a manne not to knowe that he ought to
knowe, yet it is woys to haue the knowledge of wysedome,
and to lyue lyke a brute beaste. O ye olde goutye people,
ye forgette your selfe, and renne in poste after the lyfe, and
ye neuer regarde whatte shall falle, tyll ye be suche as ye
wolde not, and without power to retourne backe: and herof
cometh that ye lacke of lyfe, ye wyl supplie it with folye.

Than

Than awake ye that be slombing, haue no force to slepe,
 open your slepp eyes, and accustome you to do well: Take
 that is nedeful for you: and fynally appoynt you betimes
 with dethe, or he make execution of your lyfe. Aii. yeres I
 haue knowen them of the world, yet I could neuer know
 none so olde, nor so putrified in their membyres, but that
 their hartes were hole to thynke unhappynesse, and their
 tongues hole to make lyes. Take hede, ye pooze olde per-
 sons, me thynke syth somer is paste, ye haste forwarde with
 the tyme: and if ye tary a small season, yet ye make haaste
 to take lodgyng. I meane, that though ye haue paste the
 day in the see with peryl, the nyght of dethe wyll take you
 at the porte of helthe. Shokes do passe with mockynges,
 and trouth with trouthe: though I haue sene you ryghte
 ponge and hardy, nowe I se you very olde: Though the
 knyght passe his course, yet it is not his faute, yf the hoys
 be not well reyned: but at the ende of his course, he wyll
 trumme his hoys. Let not that begyle you, that of custom
 hath begyled men: That is, ye shalbe as wel esteemed ther-
 by, as though ye had moche money. I beleue ye folow di-
 uers, and yet they all haue enuy at you. But trust me, that
 at the ende, honour is gyuen to a pong persone pooze and
 vertuous, rather than to an olde person ryche & bycious.
 The ryche may haue power to be moze esteemed with poze
 people, and accompanied with ryche and couetous: but
 the vertuous pooze person, shall be better esteemed & lesse
 hated. What can be greater confusyon to a personne, or
 moze shame to our mother Rome, than to se in dyuers pla-
 ces, the old people behaue and appoynte theym, as ponge
 folke, as though they lyke the byne leaues dyd newly bur-
 gein: What thinge is it to see the olde persones, nowe in
 oure dapes, brayde and make fayne their whyte heares,
 trumme and kemb the y bearded, weare strayne shoues,
 Eg. ii. their

their hosen garded, their shurtes frounced, their clokes of
 scarlette, their bagges embroded, their chaynes of golde
 about their neckes, fringes of golde & syluer about their
 apparell, estrige fethers vppon their hattes lyke grekes,
 perles and rynges on their fyngers lyke Indiens, they
 gownes long lyke flamme pusses, and finally worst of al,
 whan dethe hath gyuen them day, than they answeere that
 newly they wyll serue a lady: O how many haue I kno-
 wen in Rome, that were highly renoumed in theyr youth,
 and after throught wanton lyghtnes they were but lost in
 their age: and worst of all, they losse theyr renoume in
 their age, and the fauour of their parentes, and the pro-
 fyte of their chyldren. Certaynly Guagyn Caton of the
 ancient lynage of the Catons, was in Rome, a priest of the
 lawe. v. yeres, & prouost. iiii. yeres, and Censure. ii. yeres, &
 dictatour one yere, and Consule. v. tymes, & whan he was
 past the age of. lxx. yeres, than he began to serue Rosane
 doughter of Gneus Curcius, a lady ryght fayre & yonge:
 and he doted so farre in her loue, that he spent all that he
 had to serue her, and wold wepe lyke a chylde whan he saw
 her. It fortuneth this lady fell sycke of a feuer, and she ly-
 sted to eate newe grapes, and it was in spyng tyme, whā
 there was none tyme as than in Rome. He sent for some to
 the felde of Danubius, that was a. M. and. v. C. myle
 thense, and this was shewed to the senate, and they ordey-
 ned, that Rosana was closed in with the virgins bestales
 and the old man was banished perpetually out of Rome,
 and his chyldren lyued in greatte pouertie, and the father
 dyed infamed. I beleue that ye haue harde of this. There
 were dyuers that reputed for a greate vylanye the dede of
 the olde louer, and praysed the sentence of the senate. But
 I thynke if Guagin had had as many yonge persones in
 his banishment, as there were old amorous persons that
 toke

take by hym example, I thinke there shuld not be so many
 men losse, nor soo many women so yll married. And ther-
 fore the best is, that such people, whan they be warned by
 their seruantes, and reproved by their parentes, and desi-
 red by their frendes, that they make not excuse & say, how
 they be not amorous, but in mockerye. Whā I was very
 yong both of age & wyt, on a night I met with a neyghbor
 of myn nigh to the capitol, I was his neuewe & son to his
 sonne, & sayd to hym, My lord Fabricius ye are amorous
 thus and thus. He answered me, I do it but for pastyme.
 Certaynly I had maruayle to mete hym at that houre, &
 I was abashed of that answer that he gaue me. In them
 that be soore aged and of sadnes and grauitie, such reque-
 ses ought not to be called amours, but rather dolours,
 not a pastyme, but a losse tyme, no mockerie, but a foolys-
 nes. For in loue with mockery, foloweth þe trowth of infā-
 mie. To the Claudius and Claudine, I demaūde of you
 olde louers, what is it to be pollyshed and arrayed as ye be
 so gayly, but the bzynde of the tauerne, where there is no-
 thyng but bynegre, fayre egges and nothyng in theym,
 gylte pylles, and bytter in taste, an olde bottell and a new
 stoppell, a hole wounde ranced vnderuethe, the fygure of
 an ore to take partriches, a slipper waye, where no fote is
 sure, and fynally an old louer is as a knyght decayd, that
 helpeth to lese money, and can helpe no man fro peryl. Of
 trowth the old lecherous louer is as a swyne with a whyte
 heed and a grene tayle. Than me thynke ye that be my
 frendes and neyghbours, ye take no hede in breakyng the
 winges out of seion, whan the fethers be gone: and yet ye
 begyle me not, to saye that there is tyme ynough. Selue
 me, that that may be done in the daye, leaue it not tyll the
 night of your age. For the blunt knyfe cutteth but yl with
 the edge, and he that is wout for to eate the fleshe, can not

Eg.iii. eate

este the boones. Than lette vs comine to the remedye, to redresse this dommage, that is, yf that the house begyn to falle, shoue and stape it not with pieces of slender tymbre, but with streight pylers of the lyfe, that we haue to pelde the goddis, and to men by good fame. And yf the vyne of all our vertues, be redy to be gathered, at the least lette vs gather that is lefte vs by vnderstandynge. And sythe the waters of oure reste, are wasted with our yll werkes, lette vs water them with newe muste of good desires, and thā the good goddis wyl be content with the scrupces, that we ought to do, for the merytes and rewardes that they do to vs, soo that if we desire, to attayne golde for our warkes, yet to pay vs with the copper of our good desires. And specially, I say to you Claudius and Claudine, yf ye haue ofred the floure of your youth to vyces, offre now at this tyme, the bryanne of your age to the goddis. I haue wrytten thus largely to you, as I thynke: and bycause ye shall not be taken as cowardes, nor I for hardy, gyue no parte of this letter to any person.

¶ And I desyre you to haue me recomended vnto all my neyghbours in Roine, namely vnto Brusine the honorable wydowe. I sende to the two thousande scexters, thou shalt gyue a thousande of theym to Gautina the daughter to thy daughter, I sende it to her for a pleasure, which she dyd me at a feast. Faustine my wyfe is very sycke. Thou shalt gyue the other thousande to the Vestale virgines, that they may praye for her vnto the goddis. Vnto the Claudine, Faustine my wyfe, sendeth a coffre, but by the goddis I doo not knowe what there is within it. Nowe that ye be aged, I beseeche the goddis to sende you and me, and my wyfe, for to ende the reste of our dayes in a good lyfe. Marke your neyghbour and frende hath wrytten this with his owne hande.

A letter

A letter sent fro Mark the mperour to Labinia a Romain
 wpdowe, for to comforte her for the deth of her
 husbände. The. vi. ietter.



Mark of mounte Celio, first consull Romayne,
 sent agEinst the Daces, to þ Labinia Romain
 lady, wyfe to my good frend Claudine, salute
 to the, and consolation of the goddis consola-
 tours. I think well, thou hast suspecte, that I
 haue so lytel set by the, syth in thy pofounde and greuous
 hurtes, my consolation hath ben flourishful. But I remem-
 bre thy noblenes, which can neuer fayle: and my good wil,
 the which hath neuer desired to serue the. I am in suretie
 that thy great vertue shulde put awaye the suspecte. For
 thoughe I am the laste to comforte the, yet I am the fyrst
 that feleth thy dolours, and shal not be the last to remedye
 thy troubles. And in case that ignorance is the ende of all
 vertues, esperance for all vices, as wel somtyme great ple-
 sure taketh away rest from the wise folkes, and sclandreth
 the innocentes: moche better amonge vs latyns we fynde
 with ignorance of vices, more than the grekes do with the
 knowlege of vertues. If that we be ignorant, we haue no
 payne to abyde it, nor sorowe to take it. I say it bycause I
 haue knowen, that I wold not knowe, and that is, the tra-
 uayles are at an ende of Claudine thy husband, and nowe
 beginneth the sorowe of Labinia. I haue knowen it cer-
 tain days, and wold not dyscouer it to the, for it shuld haue
 ben cruelte. She that hath ben in trouble so long a space
 with absence, that I shulde haue gauen knowlege of the
 deth of suche an entierly desired husbände: and it hath ben
 no reson, that she of whom I haue receyued so many good
 dedes, shuld haue of me so yll newes. And sith the houre þ
 I knewe, that ye wste therof, my payne hath ben double.
 I fele

I fele his dethe, and nowe **I** fele in his deathe my solptarines, and thy desolation. Thou haste reason to wepe, not for that he is with the goddis in rest, but for vs my ierable persons, lyuinge in the power of soo many ylls, therefore we shulde not cesse to take payne and sorowe. **O** Labinia, oftentimes **I** haue thoughte, for what thyng **I** myghte fynde wepe, for the yll that lyueth, or for the good that dieth. For as moche hurtech the yll that is founde, as the good that is losse. It is great payne to see these innocens dye, and surely it is no lesse payne to see the malicious people lyue. But of that that necessitie muste needs come, whan it cometh we ought not to sclaunder hit. Shewe me Labinia, doest thou not knowe of howe good conuersation the goddes be, to whome we hope to go, and howe yll the men be, with whom we are conuersaunt, that as the yll are borne to dye, in lyke wyse the good dyeth to lyue: For a good man alway lyueth in dyenge, and the yll alwayes dyeth in lyuynge. And than syth the goddis haue caused him to come to theym, it is no greatte thyng that they haue taken fro the. **I** am incertayne, thy desyred husband Claudyn, and my true frende, seinge where he is, and remembrynge what he hath scaped, had rather to be styll there as he is, than to retorne agayn to the. Of trowth the remedies for widowes is not to thynke of any companie passed, nor of the solitarines present, but to thynke of the rest that they hope to come to. If hither vnto thou hast ben in payne, abidyng in thy house, nowe reioyce the bycause he abydech for the in his, for thou shalt be moche better entreated amonge the goddis, than here amonge men: nor consente not to thynke, that thou haste lost hym all onely. For syth we all reioyced of his lyfe, we are than bounde to wepe for his dethe. The greatestt sorowe to a lyke harte amonge all other sorowes, is to se other reioyce, at his do-
lois,

lours and contrarie wyse, the greatest ease amonge all
 greues of fortune, is to see that other feelethe their sorowe.
 All that my frende wepeth for me with his eyes, and al that
 he feelethe of my sorowe, dyschargeth somewhat myne in-
 warde peyne. The booke in the tyme of Auguste the em-
 perour sheweth, howe as he was nere to the ryuer of Da-
 nubius, he founde a maner of people, haupnge this cu-
 stome. The same houre whan a husbande taketh a wyfe,
 or a louer, they wold swere by theyr goddis, neuer to wepe
 nor sorowe for any maner of infortune, but to forget theyr
 owne propre troubles, and to dye to remedye theyr louer,
 as in lyke wise eche to do with other. O glorious worlde,
 O ryght happy age, O people of eternall memorye, wher-
 in the men were so humble, and theyr louers soo true, that
 wolde forgette theyr owne sorowe, and wepe for others. O
 Rome beynge Rome, O tyme yll spent. O lyfe yll apply-
 ed, O small thoughte rechelesse in these dayes, the hartes
 presente seperate frome welthe, and assured withoute re-
 medy in euyl, that men forgettynge that they be menne,
 tourne them selfe to be bestes: I desyre to gyue the lyfe, &
 thou dyest to take awaye my lyfe: Thou wepest to see me
 laugh, and I laugh to se the wepe. And thus without pro-
 fyte of any of vs we lese, and we reioyce in lesynge of our
 selfe. By the lawe of an honest man I swere to the Laby-
 nia, yf thy remedy laye in my handes, as thy sorowe dothe
 at my harte, thy pytefulle weppnges shoulde not hurte
 me, nor thy heuy and wofull solitarynes of thy husbande:
 but syth thy remedy and my desyre can not be accomplys-
 shed, and that with deathe, nor with them that be deed we
 haue no power: than remyt it unto the handes of the god-
 dis, who can moche better delpue vs than we can chuse.
 We se by experyence naturall, that some spkenesse is hea-
 led by wordes, that he sayde to vs, and somme by wordes
 that

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that be layde to vs, and some with wordes do leane other medicines. I say this, because the hartes that be in payne make a see of thoughtes, somtyme comforted with benefites done to the perione, more than with wordes spoken in theyr cares: an other tyme the sorowfull harte is more comforted with wordes of a frende, than with all other seruyces of the worlde. O how sorowfull am I, for in all these am I faulty, consyderinge the hyghnes of the honourable lady Romaine, and the small abilitie of me Marc of mount Celio: I see my selfe so vnable to comforte the, and to remedy the I lacke substance, I haue made the a soze wound, the whiche wolde be taken in worthe. I wyll not paye the with ynke and paper, that whiche I may do with my person: for he that gyueth counsell with wordes, may remedy with workes, if he shewe hym selfe a frend in tyme past not taken in suspette to be an ennemye in tyme to come. If thou hast reputed me hytherto for thy neyghbour and parent to thy husbande, I praye the nowe to take me for thy husbande in loue, and for thy father in counsaile, and for sonne in seruyce, and for aduocate in the Senate, in suche maner that I hope thou shalt saye, all that I haue loste in many, I haue founde in Marke alone. And because that in greuous conflyctes, where as crafte and subtyltie is forgotten, the vnderstandynge is altered, and the reason withdrawn, thanne there is as moche necessitie of good counsell as of a meane remedy. Claudyne nowe deed, was my frende, and I Marc aloue am his, and also by thy deseruyng thou mayste commaunde me what thou wylte: and for the loue that I haue to the, thou mayste desyre of me any thyng nedefull. I pray the eschewe the extremitie of the Romaine wydowes, for in all extremities lyeth the byce, for al suche wrieth them selfe, and anopeth the goddis, and lese them that be aloue, & do no profit to them that

be deed, but geue suspicion to them þe be pl, as byd Fuluis
 wife to noble Marc Marcello, she seing her husbände bu-
 ried in the felde of Mars, scratched her bysage, & tare her
 heere, & brake her tethe, & at every pace swoyned, & two se-
 natours helde her by the armes, bycause she shuld not hurt
 her self. Thā said Flau' Censurinus, let her alone, for this
 day she wyl folow the iourney of widowes, & so it was, for
 whyles þe bones of Marcello were a byennynge, she was
 intretynge to mary an other husbād, & yet more to be noted,
 one of the senatours þe led her, gaue her his hande, as one
 Romain to an other by perpetual mariage. This case was
 so foule, & take of every mā for a great vilany, & all the Ro-
 mains there present were abashed, & were in suspect neuer
 after to beleue wpdowe in Rome. I say not this Labinia,
 bycause thou wylt do so: for by the god Mars I sweare, the
 hart of Marc hath of the no such suspect, nor thy great age
 wyl not suffre it, nor the autoritie of soo sadde a matrone
 wyl demande it. I require the ryght hartely, forgette not
 the honestie that ought to be in a Romayn woman, nor re-
 trayte that is requisite in a wpdowe. For yf thou be a w-
 dowe of solptarues, that thou felcst by hym that is deed,
 than comfort the of the reputation that is holden of the by
 them that be lyuyng. I wyl say no more to the at this tyme
 but that thy renoune may be suche with all men, to cast su-
 che a byrdell vpon them that be pl, to cause them to be styl,
 and to them that be good to geue them spurres to serue
 the. And yf ye wyl thus do, take no thought for any besy-
 nes that ye haue in the senate. My wyfe Faustyne greteth
 the, and oftentymes wepeth for this mysladuenture. I send
 the money to pay thy credytours. The goddis that haue
 gyven reste to Claudyne thy husbände, geue comforte and
 consolation to Labinia his wyfe. Marc of mounte Celio
 hath wryten this with his owne hand,

Hh ii

A letter

A letter sent by Marc the Emperour to Cyncinatus his frende, bycause he bringe a gentylman became a marchant.

The. vii. letter.



Marc Edilis Censure, to the Cincinatus of Capue sende salutation for thy person, foize and vertue apensit sinister fortune. Syth the feast Berescinte, mother of the goddis, I haue sene no seruaunte of thy house, nor letter of thy hande, that I haue redde, the whiche putteth me in great suspicion of thy helthe, and that thou arte in some peryll, or els thou dyspraysst our amitie. Dyschargynge not thy selfe with so lyttell thoughte, nor forgette vs not with so great rychelesnes: for thy trauayle can not be so moche in wytyng, as it shuld be consolation to me to rede thy letters, and yf thy hande waxe slowe frome trauayle of wytyng, yet enforce myn harte for myn ease, wherein is femblaunt of true frendes. In that I wyll put the fro annoyauce, and thou to do me pleasure: thou knowest wel the small dysstaunce that is betwene Capue and mount Celio, was not the cause of our frendeshyppe, but the space hens to Illirico shuld not cause vs to be straungers. The delycate wynges sent out of theyr owne countrey to straungers take the greater myght: and the fether that the persons of true frendes be seperate, the sooner they oughte to vnyte & ioyne together theyr myndes. Shewe me I praye Cyncinate, syth thou hast cuer founde me true, why haste thou any suspecte of my desyre? The grene leus outward shewethe, that the tree is not dyce inward: and the good werkis openly notifieth the inward hart secretly. Where it is not profyte, there is always breakyng and saylyng in serupce:

fruyte: for he that perth the loueth, perpetually and fapth-
 fully ferueth. And I am as moche astonied of thy flouth-
 in demaundynge somwhat of me, as of thy cowardyse to
 wyte. I wyl confesse to the our trowth, yf thou haddeste
 as moche hardynes as wyl and thought of the smalle ef-
 fecte of my letter myght satisfye to the greatnes of thyne
 vnderstandynge, it shoulde abyde than for yll done, but not
 for thorte, as he that throweth his speare. In tyme paste
 when I was yonge and thou olde, thou in thy counsailes,
 with my money eche gaue to other: but at this houre,
 that thy heed is whyte, men taken the to be olde, yet thy
 wordes accuse the to be yonge. Reason is that I succoure
 thy pouertie with money, & to remedy thy lyghtenes with
 counsel. For the good wyl that I haue to the, and for the
 lawe of amitie that I owe to the, I wyl aduertise the as
 a vertuous man ought to do, and that is to remembre the
 benefites that he hath receyued, and to forget the iniuries
 done to hym: esteeme moche his owne smalle power, and
 holde the greatnesse of other at nothyng: fauour the good,
 and dissimule with the euill: be great with the greatest,
 and communicable with your inferiours: presently doo
 good dedes, and also of them that be absent speake good
 wordes: The greuous losses of fortune, holde theym in
 small estimation, and the small losse of honour, holde that
 in great estimation, for one thyng aduenture not money,
 and for dyuers doubtfull aduenture not a certentie: and
 finally be frende to one, and enemye to none. These thin-
 ges ought he to haue, that amonge good wyl be accom-
 pted good. I knowe well thou hast leste to be pretour of the
 warre, and nowe thou haste sette thy selfe by lande and by
 see to vse marchandise. Thou makest me sore abashed, to
 conqueere thyn ennies as a Romayn, and nowe to take on
 the, the office, to persecute thy frendes as a tyrant. Wyte
 I in thou

thou do pll to thy neyghbours, and leaue the straungers.
 Wylt thou take away the lpyunge fro hym that groweth by
 liuing, & take away the deeth fro hym that taketh away our
 lyfe: wilt thou to them that be mouers & straungers giue
 moderation, & fro them that be sobe take away theyr rest?
 Thou wylt gyue to them that take away fro vs, and take
 fro them that gyue vs: delyuer them that be condemned,
 and condemne innocentes. Thou wylt be tyraunt to the
 common welt, and not defender of thy countreie. Than
 sicke to all this he aduentured hym that leaueth dedes of
 armes, and becometh a marchaunte. I stude sooze what
 hath meued the to leaue chynaltre, wherein thou haste had
 great honour, and nowe to take on the an office, wherby
 foloweth so moche shame and rebuke. Surely I thynke in
 the none other excuse, but that thou arte olde, and canst not
 clymbe the mountaynes, and nowe thou syttest stille, and
 robbest the playnes. To olde men olde maladye, what out-
 warde force fayleth them, than forthwith they arme them
 with malyce inward. I saue it by the sooze couetous per-
 sons as thou arte now. One thyng I wll say, thou haste
 taken an office, wherby all thy felowes haue robbed in dy-
 uers dayes, thou shalt gyue accompte therof in one howre,
 ye and after the tyme shall come, that thou shalt lese all in
 a moment. For the goddis permyt, that one shall be a cha-
 stysement of dyuers, and longe tyme chastyseth all. Howe
 is it my frende Cyncinate, that in the house of thy father,
 Cyncinate werespeares, and not wytynges hangynge: I
 haue sene his halle full of armure, & not of fardels: and
 portall and gates full of knyghtes, & not marchantis. Cer-
 taynly there haue I sene the scole of noblenes, and not as
 it is now the denne of theues. O Cyncinate, cursed be so vi-
 lapn an office, the marchantis lyue pozely to dye ryche: & let
 vs say ageyn, cursed be it, bycause the couetyse of one that
 is pll

is p^ro, wolde be accomplished to the p^resudice of many that
be good. I wyl not hurte the by thy p^redecessours, but I
wyl aduertise the of thy miserie and of thy successours. If
thou thynekst þ^t thy vertue shulde holde to the ende of the
worlde, as the worlde holdeth to the, as hit seemeth by thy
wyte heares, holde me excused of the trouble in p^reswa-
ding the to here me. Now be it, it is reason, that the gate of
so great a cause be knocked at with the hāmer of som wat-
ering, & to bring it to good reason, of necessitie it must passe
the myll: and to make cleere the vnderstandyng from tyme
to tyme, of w^hich nede there requirerh counsell. Dyuers ty-
mes wise men sayle, bycause they wold faile, but if the thin-
ges be of suche qualitie, that wysedom suffiseth not to as-
sure them, than it is nedefull, that his wyl be butyed, and
his vnderstandyng dissolued, and his owne p^rop^re opini-
on vopd, & than incontinent to take a threde to the aduys-
of an other. Take good hede Cynicate, where as the fou-
dations be not wel edified, the buildinges ar in p^reryl. The
dungeon of this worlde, wherin the children of vanite do a-
bide, is founded on the sande. For let it be neuer so sump-
tuous, yet a lyttell blaste of wynde wyl cause it to shake,
and a lyttell heate of prosperite wyl open it, and a lyttell
tyme of aduersite wyl diuide it, and within a short whyle
of space, whan we least take hede, it wyl fall all flatte on þ^e
erth. If the pylles be of syluer, and benches of golde, and
though the benches be kynge, and continue a thousande
yere, and rale into the entraples of the erthe: yet they can
fynde no sted afte rothe nor mountayne, wherin to cloose
the goodes of they^r p^redecessours, and their estates p^repe-
tual. The goddis immortall haue made all thynges com-
municable to men mortall, excepte immortallitie: and ther-
fore they be called immortall, bycause they neuer dye, & we
be called mortall and saylyng, bycause we all take an ende.

Howe

Howe stronge to enter the walled be, yet great age causeth
it to fall to ruine. Two thinges semeth to be free, the whi-
che fortune can not set abacke, nor the tyme cause to be for-
gotten, & they be these: The good oꝝ yll renoume amonge
men, and the payne oꝝ rewarde that they that be good oꝝ
yll haue of the goddis. O my frende Cyncinate, thus a-
cheueth the persones, but the goddis neuer. What greue
oꝝ tyme, oꝝ rotten holdeth any season the fruyte of the tree
floured? I esteeme it nothyng, because it must dye by na-
ture. Howe be it dyuers tymes in leaues and flowers we
beare the froste of some maladye, oꝝ the blast of some cru-
ous myshap. Longe is the webbe in makynge: but it that
is made in many days, is cut asonder in a moment. Sem-
blably it is a piteous thing to see a man dye with so great
trauayle, and to be sette in the state of honour, and after
warde we regardynge neyther the one nor the other, and
yet we sitte perissh. And without any memoꝝ of any thing
abydynge. O my frende Cyncinate, for the loue betwene
vs I pray the, and by the immortal goddis I conuere the
beleue not the worlde, the whiche vnder the colour of a lyt-
tell golde, hydeth moche fylthyneſſe: and vnder colour of
trouthe chaungeth vs into a. H. lyces: and for a short de-
lyte gyueth vs a. H. displeasures. To them whom it sheweth
most loue, it begyleth with greatest tromperes: to
whom the worlde gyueth moſte goodes, it procureth moſte
domages: to them that serueth it with mockeries, hit re-
wardeth with true recompences: and to them that loue it
truly, it gyueth them goodes of mockeries: finally when
we ſleepe moſte ſureſt, it waketh vs with greatte perylls.
What wilt thou ſay than of the worlde, ſe we it: One
thyng I will tell the, and me thynke thou ſhouldeſt not
forgette it: and that is, we ought not to beleue the vayne
vanities that we ſe with our eyes, rather than the greatte
mer-

metuaples that we here with our eyes. One thing I haue regarded, and by longe experience I haue knowen it, that but a fewe howses paynted no: stalles raised vp, we haue sene in Rome: but of a small tyme they take no thoughte for the walles, but they haue cruell enimities with theyr neighbours, and great anoy of theyr heyyes, and unfortunate shame of theyr frendes, and double malpce of theis ennemies, and enuious profite in the senate, & somtyme to put a gouernour out of possession, they set foure in hono: and finally all that with great thought haue be gathered for their chyldre, whom they loue well with great rest, somtyme an other heire entopeth it, of whom they thynke leest. It is a iuste sentence, that such as begyle dyuers with yll dedes in theyr lyfe, shulde be begyled of theyr vayne thoughtes at their deth. Cruell shulde the goddis be, and ryghte greuous for men to suffre, that the ylle that hath gathered for one heire in þe prejudice of dyuers that be good, shulde misse it many yeres. We thinke it sholde be a souerayne solye to be bozne weppnge, to dye sychynge, and to lyue laughynge. The rule to gouerne all partes ought to be equal. O Cynicate, who hath begyled the, that for a pottle full of water, thou haste nedde of a greatte laake of this world to passe this wretched lyfe: wylt thou slay away the synne of thy handes with the corde of thoughtes, breake thy body in bataylle with great trauaile, and aduenture thyne honour for one pottle of water? What wylt thou more that I shulde say: but that to fylle a pottle of thy goodes thou wylt suffre a .xxx. perylls. And in the byle exercising of thy marchandys, thou doubttest not for lesynge of thy credence. And finally I sweare to the, thou shalt abyde deed for churche, as thoughe there were no water in the felde. If thou wylt do by my counsell, desyre deathe of the goddis, to reste the as an aged wyse man: and de-

maunde not rchelle to lye yll as a ponge foole. I haue
 soore wepte for many, that I haue sene in Rome departed
 oute of this worlde, and for the I haue wepte droppes of
 blode, to se the retourne newly & vplely to the worlde. My
 amitie and the credite of the senate, the bloude of thy pre-
 decessours, the auctoritie of thy person, and the honour of
 the countrey oughte to refrayne thy couetousnesse. Oh
 frende, thy whyte heares sheweth honour and wysedome,
 the whiche shuld exercyse and be occupped in noble dedes.
 Regarde, It auayleth more to folowe reason by the ways
 of them that be good, than the comon opinon, whiche is
 the large way of them that be yll. For though the one be
 strapte for the fete, it reifeth no duste for to blynde the eyes
 as the other dothe, to lyghte younge persons, the whiche
 procure lyghtnesse, ignoraunce excuseth them: but the dis-
 ordinate couetyse of the olde persones, causeth theym to
 occupie theyr lyfe with trauayle, and to take deathe with
 great annoyauce, and in the one as well as in the other
 abydeyth great infamy. O Cyncinate, take this counsaile
 of a frende: Charge not thy selfe with takynge of these
 bayne goodes, syth thou haste so smalle a moztelle of thy
 lyfe. For suche as thou arte, we see consume, and waste,
 and not so quicken. Put no truste in frendes in the present
 prosperitie, for it is a pronostication of an euyl fortune.
 And syth thou arte in a hasarde lyke a foole, me thynke
 thou oughtest to discende a foote lyke a sage person. And
 thus euerie man wyll saye, howe Cyncinate is discended,
 and not fallen. I wyll say no more, but the goddis be thy
 sauegarde, and defende bothe the and me frome gylefull
 fortune. My wyfe Faustyne saluteth the, and she is with-
 drawn frome me, bycause I wrote this letter to the, and
 hath conured me to wryte this wynde to the, that is, she
 sayeth thou oughtest to haue wryte when thy necke is full

of heare, and I thynke thou oughteste in continence to take a barber, & haue away the heare, that thy wytte may come forth. I wolde thy couetyse shulde forsake the, & folow faustyn, and the gowte me, and the soner our soules may departe fro our fleshe, than gyle shuld remaine in our hartes. Marc of mount Celio wyrteth this with his hande.

A letter sent fro Marc the emperour to Catulus censorious, that was sorowfull for the deth of his sonne Uerissimus.

The. viii. letter.



Marc censoze newe and yonge, salute and reuerence to the Catulus censorius olde and auncient. I haue writen two letters to the, & thou haste made answer to none of them. If it be bycause thou couldest not, I holde my peace: If it be bycause thou woldest not, than I complayne me: If it be for forgetfulnes, than I accuse the: If it be bycause thou setteste lptell by me, than I appeale the: If thou haste dreamed, that thou haste wyrtten, I say beleue not in dreames: And yf thou wylte not it shulde vayne to glorifie me as a frende, yet thou mightest take it wyte in aduertisinge & reprevyng as the father to the son. yong vertuose persons are boude to honour auncyente wyse men, & no lesse olde wyse men ought to endoctryne the yong people and very yonge, as I am. I iuste thynge it is, that the new forces of yowth supply & serue them that are worne by age. For they longe experiente mocketh out tender age & natural ignorance, yowth is yf applied, when it surmōteth the force of the body, & fayleth the vertues of the soule: & age is honoured, wherein the force dyeth outward, wherby vertues quackneth the more inward. we may se the tree whē the fruite is gadered the leues fall, and when flowers dy, than

Al u

than

than more grene and perfyte are the rotes. I meane that whan the first season of yowth is passed, which is the Sommer tyme, than cometh ayege called wynter, and putrifieth the fruite of the fleshe, and the leaues of fauour falle, and the floures of delyte are wyddered, and the bynes of hope dried outwarde, than it is ryght, that moche better the rotes of good woꝝkes within be good. They that be old and auncient ought to prayse theyꝝ good werkes rather than theyꝝ white heares. Foꝝ honour ought to be gyuen foꝝ the good lyfe, and not foꝝ the whyte heade. Glorious is that common welthe, and fortunate is that pꝛynce, that is lord of yonge men to trauayle, and ancient persons to counsel. As to regarde the sustentynge of the naturalitie of the life in lyke wise ought to be consydered the polycie of gouernaunce, the whiche is that al the fruytes come noꝝ dꝛye not al at ones, but whan one begynneth an other fayleth. And in this maner ye that be auncient teachynge vs, and we obedient, as olde fathers and yonge pulletes, beyng in the neste of the senate. Of some theꝝ fethers fallynge, and other yonge fethered: and where as the olde fathers can not flye, theꝝ trauayles are maynteyned by theyꝝ tender chyldren. Frende Catulus, I purposed not to wyte one lyne this yere, bycause my penne was troubled with the flouthe: but the smallenes of my spꝛyte, and the greatte peryll of myn offices alway called on me to demande thy counsell. This pꝛiuelege the olde wyse men holde in theyꝝ houses where they dwelle: They are alwayes lordes ouer them that be simple, and are sclauens to them that be wyse. I thynke thou haste forgotten me, thynkyng that sythe the dethe of my dere sonne Verissimus, the tyme hath ben so longe, that I shulde forgete it. Thou hast occasion to thynke so, foꝝ many thynges remeth in tyme, that reason can not helpe. But in this case I can not tell whiche is the
greatest

greateste, thy trumpeterie of my dolour. I sweare to the by
the goddis immortall, that the hungry wormes in the en-
trayles of the unhappy chylde, are not so puisante, as are
the cruell dolours in the harte of the father sore wounded.
And it is no comparason, for the son is ded but one tyme,
e p heuy father dieth every moment. what wylt thou more
that I shulde say: but that one ought to haue enuy of his
deth, & compassio of my lyfe, bicause in dienge he lyueth, &
in lyupng I dye. In yf fortunes in case of lyfe, & in p sub-
til aduersities of fortune, where as her gyles profiteth but
lyttel, and her strength lesse, I thinke the beste remedy is
to fele it as a man, and dissimule it as discret and wise. If
all thynge as they be felte at harte shulde be shewed out-
warde with the tonge, I thynke that the wyndes shoulde
breake the harte with sighinges, and water all the erthe
with wepyng. If the corporall eies sawe the hurt of the
hart with a true wound, I sweare to the, there they shuld se
more of a droppe of bloudde sweatynge within, thanne all
the wepyng that is made outwarde. There is no compa-
ryson of the great dolours of the bodye, to the leest payne
that the spirite feleth. For all trauayle of the bodye, menne
may fynde some remedy, but yf the heuy harte speke, it is
not harde: yf it wepe, it is not sene: yf it complayne hit is
not beleued. What shall the poore harte do: Abhorre the
lyfe, wherewith it dieth: and desire deth, wherewith it liueth.
The high vertues amonge noble vertuous people consy-
steth not al only to suffice the passions of the body, but al-
so to dissimule them of the soule. They be suche that alter
the humours, and shewe hit not outwarde: They bypge
a feuer without alterynge the of poulce: They alter the
stomake: They make vs to knele to the erthe, to suffer the
water by to the mouth, & to take death without leauynge
of the lyfe: And synally they lengthe our lyfe, to thentente
I i i that

that we shulde haue the moze trauaylle, and denpethe vs
 our sepulture to thentente that we shulde not reste.
 But consideringe, If I be troubled with tribulations, as
 well am I lette with consolations. For euer I haue either
 desyre of the one, or wepynges of the other. I take this
 remedye to dissimule with the tongue, and to wepe with
 the eyes, and to fele it with my harte. I passe my lyfe, as
 he that hopethe to lese all that he hath, and neuer to reco-
 uer that is lost. I say this, though ye se me not now make
 funerall weppnges and waylynges, as I dyd at the deth
 of my sonne, yet thynke not but it doth brenne my hart, so
 that with the inwarde greatte heate is consumed the hu-
 myditie of the cies outwarde, for it brennethe all my spy-
 rites inwarde. Thou mayste knowe what an honoura-
 ble father suffrethe to lese a good chylde: In all thynges
 the goddes be lyberall, excepte in gyuyng vs vertuous
 chyliden. Where there is aboundaunce of great estates,
 there is greattest scarstie of good inherytours. It is a
 great hurte to here, and greatter to see, howe these fathers
 clyme to haue ryches, and to see theyr chyliden discende to
 haue byciousenes: To se the fathers honour theyr chyl-
 den, and the chyliden to infame theyr fathers: yea and
 the fathers to gyue rest to theyr chyliden, and the children
 to gyue trouble to theyr olde fathers: yea and sometyme
 the fathers dye for sorowe that theyr children dye so soone,
 and we se the chyliden wepe, because theyr fathers dye so
 late. What shulde I saye moze, but that the honour and
 riches that the fathers haue procured with great thought
 the chyliden lose with lyttell care. I am certayne of one
 thyng, that the fathers may gather ryches with strength
 and crafte, to susteyne theyr chyliden, but the goddis wyll
 not haue durable that that is begon with euill intention,
 and is founded to the pzeiudice of other, and is possessed
 with

with an euill heire. And though the heuy destenies of the
 fader permit, that the riches be left to their childre to serue
 them in all their vyces for theyr pastyme, at last according
 to their merites, the goddis wyll that the heyre & herptage
 shal be peryshe. Marke what I say, I hadde two sonnes,
 Comode & the prince Verissimus, the yonger is dead, that
 was greatest in vertue. Alway I imagined, that while the
 good lyued, I shuld be poze, & now that the yll remayneth,
 I thynke to be ryche. I shall shewe the why, the goddis ar
 so pitiful, that to a poze father they neuer gyue yll chylde: &
 to a riche father they neuer giue a good child. And as in al
 prosperite alway there falleth some sinister fortune, either
 soone or late, so therewith fortune doth arme & apparel vs,
 wherin she seeth we shal fal to our greattest hurt. And ther
 fore the goddis permit, that the couetous faders in gade-
 rying with great trauayle shuld die with that hurt, to leue
 their riches to theyr vicious childre yll implied. I wepe as
 moch for my child & the goddis haue lefte me, as for him &
 they haue taken from me. For & small estimatiō of hym that
 liueth maketh immortal memory of him & is deed. The yll
 rest & cōuersatiō of them that lyue, cause vs to sigh for the
 company of them that be deed. The yll is alway desired
 for his ylnes to be deed, & the good alway meriteth to haue
 his deth bewailed. I say my frend Catulus, I thought to
 haue losse my wit, whā I saw my son Verissime dye: but
 I toke cōfort aye: for eyther he of me, or I of him must se
 the ende. Cōsidering that the goddis dyd but lend hym to
 me & gaue hym not, & how they be inheritors, & I to haue &
 vie of the fruit. For al thing is mesured by the iust wyl of
 the goddes, & not by our disordinate wyls & appetites. I
 thinke whā they toke away from me my chylde, I restored
 hym to an other, & not that they haue taken myn. But (ith)
 it is the wyll of the goddis to gyue reste to the good chylde,
 and

and hurte the father bycause he is yll, I yelde thanks to them: for the season that they haue suffred me to enioye his lyfe: And for the pacience that I haue taken for his deth, I desyre them to imptigate therewith the chastisement of their yre. And I desyre, syth they haue taken awaye the lyfe from this chylde, to cause good customes to be in the pynce myne other sonne. I knowe what heuynesse thou haste take in Rome for my sorowe. I pray to the goddis to sende the ioye of thy chylde, and that I maye rewarde the with some ioye, for that thou haste wept for my payne. My wyf Faustine saluteth the: and thou woldest haue compassyon to se her: For she wepeth with her eyes, and sygheth with her harte, and with her handes hurteth her selfe, and cursed with her tonge. She eateth nothyng on the daye, nor slepeth in the nyght. She loueth darkenes, and abhorreth lyght, and therof I haue no meruayle: for it is reasone, that for that was nourished in her entrayles, she shulde fele sorowe in the same. And the loue of the mother is soo stronge, though her chylde be deed and layde in sepulture, yet alwayes she hath hym quicke in her harte. It is a generall rule, that the person that is entierly beloued, causeth euer great gref at the deth. And as for me I passe the lyfe ryght sorowfully: though I shewe a ioyfull face, yet I want myrth at my harte. And amonge wyse men beynge sorowfulle, and shewynge their faces mery, is none other thyng but burienge the quicke, hauynge no sepulture. And I sweare by the goddis immortall, I fele moch more than I haue sayde. And dyuers tymes me thynke I shuld fal downe, bycause I dare not wepe with myne eyes yet I fele it inwardly. I wolde sayne common with the in dyuers thynges. Come I pray the to Byette, to chentent that we maye speake to gether. And sythe it hath pleased the goddis to take my chylde fro me, that I loved so well,

I wolde counsell with the, that art my louping frend. 25. it
 some dayes pasted, there came hyther an ambassadour fro
 Rhodes, to whom I gaue the moſte parte of my hoſſes:
 and fro the fartheſt parte of Spayne, there were broughte
 me viii. of whiche I ſende the. iiii. I wolde they were ſuch
 as myghte pleaſe the. The goddis be thy ſafegarde, and
 ſende me, and my wyfe ſome iope. Marcus Aurelius right
 ſorrowfull, hath wyrtten this with his owne hande.

A letter ſent by Marc the emperour, to
 Marcutino beyng at Sanny, nowe
 called Benaunte.

The .x. letter.



My ſperyall frende and auncient compani-
 on, a meſſanger of thyne, and a lackeye
 of thyne, wente out togyther at Capue,
 the one bare my deſyre and affection to
 the, and the other broughte a letter to
 me. And yf thou loke well, thou mayſte
 ſee my hart as full of thoughtes, as I ſe

thy letter full of complayntes. Thou doſt ſende to comfort
 me in my feuer tercpan, I thanke the greatly therof, and
 it is come in a good ſeaſon. For the goynge of the feuer
 out of my pouſſe, and the iope of thy letter to my ſpिरितe, is
 all one. And ſurely if this caſe be leſte in my hande, and
 that my feuer retourne not, thā thy conſolation ſhal ſerue.
 Lo beholde the miſerie of man, that preſumeth to take a-
 way realmes from other, and yet cā not take the feuer out
 of my bones. Thou knoweſt well, that we loue togyther,
 and of a longe ſeaſon thyn amitie hath truſted in me. As y
 trouthe byndeth me, that thyne ylls ſhoulde be myne,
 and my goodes thyne. And there is trewe loue, where be

two bodies seperate, and but one hart together. And there is but a bytter loue, where the hartes be as ferre asonder, as the straungenes of their persones. Take hede I praye the, that our loue be not inuenimed with unkyndnes, nor our remembrance enpoysened with small thoughtes, and I beyng an other than thou art here, & thou beyng an other than I am there, in maner that myn absence with thy presence, and my presence with thy absence, may speake to gyther. Thy messenger hath shewed me the losse of thy goodes, and by the letter, I knowe the angurshye of thy personne. And it hath ben shewed me, that thou haste hadde a shyppe peryshe, and that thy factours, lyke wyse men, to saue theyr personnes, dydde throwe thy marchandise in to the see. We thynke, thy shyppe hath eased the of thy charge. But I thinke as it semeth by the, they threwe not so many fardels into the see, as thoughtes into thy harte. And acco:dyng as thou were before, I shoulde be more bounde to serche for thy leade and tynne, thanne for thy harte. Thy leade is sonken to the bottome, but thy counsell is spredde abroad: ouer all the worlde. If thou shouldeste nowe dye, and thy bodye be opened, of trouthe I thynke, that thy hart shuld be rather found drowned with thy leade, than alyue with thy bodye. O Mercurius, atte this houre thou felest no maladye of any feuer tercian, as I doo, for the harte of thy bodye, and the dolour of thy spirite, causeth the to haue a quartayne. And this euill is not in the body, but in the shyppe, not on the erthe, but in the see: not with phisitions, but philosophers. I counsaile the to seke helthe: for there thy lyfe is drowned, where thy leade is sonken. Be not angry, for though thou haste not thy leade with the, thy leade hath the with it. Ofte tymes auarice seketh out the auaricious, and somtyme the auaricious seke auarice. It is shewed me, thou arte sorow, by cause

cause thy domage can haue no remedy: and doest thou not know, that where no remedy is, thou oughtest to take patience? **M**ercurius, nowe thou knoweste, þ when thou diddest aduenture thy goodes to the suspicious rockes, & thy despyes to the depe wawes of the see, and thy courageous auarpyce, to the importunate wyndes, and thy leed to straunge waters, and as iopous, and despyous as thy factours went forth, in truste of wyninge, as moche nowe thou arte sure of the losse: and thus is thy despye drowned and thy hope scaped? Doest thou not remembre, that **S**ocrates, castynge into the see, not leade, but golde, not a lytell, but a great dele, not goodes of other mennes, but of his owne, not by fortune, but by his wysedome, sayde, **I** wyl drowne these gylefull riches, to thentent that they shall not drowne me: But **I** thynke, if a man should se the do so, he shuld here the say: **O** my swete ryches, **I** had rather drowne my self, thā other shuld drowne you: **T**his auncient wise man durst not truste in golde, & thou wylte trust on leade: cast lottes amonge your goddis, he of **A**thenes, and thou of **R**ome, whiche of you hath most fayled, or els is moste assured: he, that cast his gold from the erth, in to the se, or elles thou that woldest bynge thy leade out of the se vpon the erth: **I** knowe, that the ancient **R**omains wyl say, it is he, and the present couetous folke wyl saye, it is thy selfe. And **I** thynke, in this thou art dyspraysed in the prayse therof, and the dyspraysed is alowed of all men. Thy messenger tolde me, that thou were right sorow and heuyn, and crieste out in the nyghte, callynge on the goddes, and makeste thy neyghbours, complaynyng on fortune. **I** am soze dyspleased for thy heuines, bycause sorowe is nerte frende to thy solitarynes, and ennemy to company, and heyre of desperation. **I** am soze for thy crynges in the nyghte: for it induseth foly. For the nyght, couerynge

all the worlde with derknes, thou alone wylt discover thy
 harte with crienges. I am not plesed, that thou complay-
 nest vpon the goddis, bycause they haue taken some thing
 fro the: bycaue thou that were alofte, they haue broughte
 lower: No? I am not plesed, that thou awakest thy neigh-
 bours for thy ryches, that caused them to enuy the: thy pa-
 cience shuld moue them to cōpassyon. No? I am not cōtēt,
 that thou shuldest so complayne on fortune: for the thyng
 so well knowē of many, shuld not be infamed by one alone
 O Mercurius remēbre, that with the, with whom truce
 is taken, thou wylt entre agayne into the field of defiance.
 We vnbind, and thou wylt spend thy speres. Thou neuer
 camest into the fiede, and yet thou woldest enioye the try-
 umph. Al be stopped, and thou woldest passe surely. Thou
 yeldest thy selfe to fortune, and doest thou not knowe, how
 she beteth downe the high wals, and defendeth the olde ro-
 ten houses, and peopleth where there lacketh people, and
 vnpeopleth where as peple be? Of enemies she maketh fre-
 des, and of frendes enemies, and dispoileth the vāquishers
 and crowneth them that be ouercom. Of traitours, she ma-
 keth true men, and trewe menne she maketh suspecte per-
 sons. And fynally, fortune is suche a maystresse, that she
 ruleth realmes, ouercommeth armies, beateth downe kin-
 ges, exalteth tyrantes, to the deed she gyueth lyfe, and to
 some renoume, and to some shame. Why styckest thou to
 her. Doest thou not remembre the worde, that the kyng of
 the Lacedemoniens hadde at his gate, sayenge: This
 house is at the puttyng downe of fortune. In good sothe
 these were hygge wordes, and of greatte vnderstandyng,
 he knewe fortune moche better than thou, sich he rekeneth
 his house at fortunes disposition, and not for inheritance.
 And yf he hadde loste any thyng, as thou haile done, he
 thoughte, that she restored it to other as theyrs, and had
 not

not taken hit. Reason holdeth confidence, to argue thy
 treason, by that she deposeth the fro thy heyghte, to be an
 heriter: for he that lyueth, heryteth deathe, and not death
 the lyfe, for all dyeth, and it heryteth al in theyr lyfe. Wylt
 thou take vengeance, of that hath gyuen the so moch peyn
 Therfore take this counsel: be frende to fortunes enemye.
 the whiche is the graue: Ouer them that be bozne, and not
 ouer them that dye, is her empyre. O howe many greatte
 lordes haue ben the thoughtes of thy harte, soo as many
 wynges shall be in thyn entayles: What greater victo-
 ry may be, thanne she that ouercometh all lyuers, shall be
 vanquished of the alonely by dethe. I saye one thyng to
 the, that all onely he that is closed in his graue, is assured
 of all thynges of this lyfe. Thy messenger shewed me, that
 this somner thou woldest come to Rome, and now that it
 is wynter, thou wylt sayle into Alexandre. O, my frende
 Mercurio, whan thy lyfe draweth to an ende, thou begin-
 nest to be auaritious. Thou shalt fynde two citie in this
 worlde, in two extremytes, Rome the heed of vice, and A-
 lexaundre the ende of all vertues. I say of thy merchaun-
 dyce, in Rome thou doost charge thy body with vices, and
 in Alexandrye thy harte with thoughtes. I swere by the
 othe of a iuste man, that thou shalte haue more desyre, of
 that thou leauest, then contentation of that thou bearest
 away. Thou remembrest not, howe it is wynter, and thou
 must passe the see, & but if the pylotes lye to me, the caulme
 season most sure, is the bigil of y more vnfortune. Thou
 wylt saye, thy shippes be voyde, and therfore they shall go
 more surely. I beleue they shal go more charged with aua-
 rice. thanne they shall come with sylke. O what a good
 chaunge shal it be, if the auarice of Italy myght be chaun-
 ged for sylke of Alexandrye. I knowe surely theyr sylke wil
 lade a shyppe, and our auarice wyl lade a hole nete. Great

is that couetpse, whiche the shame of the worlde doth not
 repleue, nor the feare of death stoppe, nor reason appoynt.
 I say it, bycause that he, which in suche a tyme offreth him
 selfe to peryll, eyther couetise surmounteth hym, or els vn-
 derstandynge fayleth hym. And bycause I can finde none
 other excuse sufficiēt to excuse me to the, but that thou art
 as moche known by the see, as vnknewen to the goddis,
 that is, the vnstable waves knowe the wicked harte and
 vnrestefull, and the harde rockes vntruly menne: and one
 wynd knoweth an other wynd. I pray the shewe me, what
 thou wylt go serche: Wylt thou go into the gulse of Atri-
 no for to seke thy leade: Than take hede, and thynke, how
 the fyre hath eaten thy harde leade, and let them not eate
 thy softe fleshe. Thou wylt peraduenture go seke thy goo-
 des with peryll of thy lyfe, and to leaue renoume at thy
 deth. knowest thou not, that suche renoume, is a salve for
 a rewine, a baume for a swownyng, lyght to a blynde per-
 sonne, a nyghtingale to the deafe: I wyl discouer the en-
 buschement, er thou falle therein. Thou sekest thought for
 thy selfe, enuye for thy neyghbours, spures for thyn ene-
 mies, wakynge for theues, peryll for thy body, damnati-
 on for thy renome, the endynge of thy lyfe, flyghte for thy
 frendes, processe for thy chyldren, and cursynge for thyn
 heires. And bycause the feuer hasteth towarde me, I leaue
 my penne to write any more. My wyfe Faustine saluteth
 the, and is sore displeased for thy losse. I sende the a proui-
 sion, to the entent that a shippe may be gyuen the, bycause
 thou shuldest not lose thy wytte. If thou be in Alexandrie
 returne not by Rhodes, leaste the Pyrates take the. The
 goddis be thy saufgarde, and send me and other good life,
 and good name with straungers.

A letter

A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Antigonus.
comforyng hym in a sorowfull case
The tenth letter.



Marke pretour Romaine, Edile, Censorine, companion of the empire, to the Antigonus banished, sendeth greting to thy part, and good hope of the senate. To me beyng in Campan, thy heuy case was shewed, and at this houre in the temple of Jupiter was thy pitifull letter delivered to me. I fele as moche as thou feleste, and am hurte with as many woundes. As thou art separate fro thy neighbours, so in likewise I am banished fro my wittes: and I wepe at this howze for the, as thou in my trauayles haste wepte for me: and nowe I fele for the, as thou haste felte for me. For to frendes afflicted with sorowe, we oughte to gyue remedy to their persones, and consolation and compassion to their hartes. I swere to the by the lawe of good men, in this case I haue not ben vncourteys of aunciente tyme, nor cruell at this tyme, to feele it. As I redde the lynnes of thy letter, I coulde not holde my handes from shakynge, nor my harte from syghyng, nor myn eyen fro wepyng, to se the small thing that thou sendest to demaunde. and moche moze for lacke of power to sende to the. The greatest infortune of all infortunes, is whan a man may do lyttell, and wolde do moche. And the greatest fortune of all fortunes is, whan a man maye do moche, and wylle do but lyttell. In this I wylle se, if thou hast forgotten our amitie, and aduventurest at one tyme, that I haue trusted in the dyners tynes. Thou knowest wel, that in the yonge daies of my youth, al thinges were discharged fro my hart and charged them to thyne vnderstandynge. Than it is a iuste thing, that thy trauayles shuld be discharged fro thy wylle

wyll, and charged vpon my hart. And in this maner, thou
 and other, shall see and here, that my handes shall be as re-
 dy to remedy the, as my teares of weppynge are for thy da-
 mage. Nowe come to the reste of euill fortune. Thou gy-
 uest me knowledge, that the goddis haue taken a dought-
 er fro the: And the monstrous earthquake hath throwen
 downe thy howse, and the senate hath gyuen a sentence a-
 gaynste the, wherby thy goodes are loste, and thy persone
 banished. The goddis be to me as propyce and iudges, as
 they haue ben cruell to the. I am sore abashed, of that
 my spirite hath conceyued in this, as of the losse, that thou
 & thy wyfe haue felt: yet am I not abashed of the monster,
 that feareth the people, nor of the tryblyng, that hath
 shaken downe thy howses, nor of the fyre, that hath brent
 thy goodes, nor of the goddis that haue permitted suche
 thynges to falle: But I am abashed, that there is some-
 che malice in the, and in thy neyghbours: For the whiche
 iustely ye do deserue to haue so horryble and cruell cha-
 stysementes. Beleue me in one thyng Antigonus, and
 double it not, yf men lyued lyke men, and chaunged not
 the rule of conditours, the goddis wolde then be alwayes
 as goddis, not to cause vs to be borne of our mothers, to
 gyue vs so cruell chastisementes by the hand of monstrous
 beastes. Certaynely it is iuste and moste iuste, that brute
 beastes be chastysed by other brute beastes, and the mon-
 sterous, by other monstrous beastes, and suche as offend
 with greatte fautes, to be punished with great paynes.
 I say to the one thyng, the whiche semeth a newe thyng
 to the, and that is this, the euill persones offende more by
 infamy, than the goddis gyue theym payne for it, rather
 than for the offence that is comitted agaynst them. As the
 goddis naturally be pitiefull, and alwaye haue the name
 therof, so we are alwayes euyl, and our euylnes and sham-
 full

ful workers desire to haue superchastitatem. When simple
 folkes call the goddis cruel, in that they see theyr chastite-
 ment openly, and for they see not our secret pynesse. When
 the goddis haue reason to complayn, because we with our
 synnes offend them, and they by our cruelties are infamed.
 An ineffable rule it is, that the pittefull goddis do not pu-
 nish the extremely with extreme chastisements, sythe that
 sythe the vicious men doo extremely with extreme vyces.
 The tyme that Camillus was benyghen Capue, and that
 the frenche men possessed Rome, Lucius Clauus consule
 was sent by the senate to the oracle of Apollo, to demande
 counsell, what the Romayne people shuld do to be helyue-
 red out of the tregreat perple. And there this consule was
 xi. dayes within the temple on his knees before Apollo,
 offerynge right straunge sacrifices, and shedde many te-
 res with weppynge, and yet he coulde haue none answer:
 and so with no small inconueniences he returned to Rome.
 Then the holy senat sent out of euery temple two prestes
 and whan they were prostrate on the ethe. Apollo sayde:
 As one begynnynge is correspondynge to an nother begyn-
 nyng, and one place to an nother. Whereupon thou not,
 though by the reason of an extreme demaunde, I shewed
 my selfe extreme to answer. ye Romaynes sythe ye Capite
 men ye come to seke to the goddis, for the occasion wher-
 of we wyllyng put you no good counsaile whan ye haue nede,
 we permitte that men shoulde fauour you, whan ye goo to
 seke for them. Regarde my frendes, not for the sacrifices,
 that ye haue offred to me, but for the amitie, that I haue
 had with your fathers in tyme past, I wyl discover to you
 a secreete, the which is, that ye shall say to the Romaynes
 from me, this thynges. The firste is, lette neuer man leaue
 the goddis for any other man, for feare that the goddis de-
 part fro the nysurable man, whiche is the greatest sacrile-

tie. The. ii. is, that more awaileth to holde the parte of
 one of the goddis immortall, that is in heuen, than with
 all the mortall men in the worlde. The. iii. is, that menne
 shulbe beware to anoye the goddis, for the yre of the god-
 des doth more damage than the iniquities of all men. The
 iiii. is, the goddis neuer forgette a man at any tyme, but
 if the goddis be forgotten by men a. 99. tymes. The. v.
 is, that the goddis do suffre, that one shall be persecuted
 by an other that is pite, or they haue fyrst persecuted one
 that is good. And therfore peate stryke with the feates of
 the frenchemen: bicause pe haue persecuted and banyshe
 Camyllus pour naturalle neyghbour. The. vi. is, if the
 men wyl haue the goddis fauourable in the time of warre
 they muste serue them fyrst in tyme of peace. The. vii. is,
 that the pitiefull goddes sendeth not to any realme some
 extreme chastisement, but if it be for some extreme offen-
 ces comytted in the same realme. And shewe to the Se-
 nate, that I wold make none answer to Lucius Clarius,
 bycause they sent so yll a man to theyr god Apollo as am-
 bassadour, the which they ought not to haue done. pr. 130
 mayus take this counsell of me, and yf ye fynde it yll, take
 no more of me. In a straunge message sende alwayes the
 mooste eloquent men, and in your senate let the wysest men
 And comytte pour hostes to valliant capitayns: and to
 pour goddes sende alway the most innocent men. The. 108
 goddes neuer appeale their ires againste whitt men: but
 if the requyres be very innocent and meke. For a fowle
 vessel is not made cleane but with fayre water. For with
 foule handes it is hard to make the vessel cleane. The god-
 dis be so iust, that they wyl not gyue iuste thynges but by
 handes of iust me. Finally I say, if ye wyl dyne the french
 men pour enemies out of pour landes, fyre cast out the
 passions fro pour hartes. Think so; trowth, that the god-
 des

his wyl neuer dyue your enemies out of Italy, till Ca-
 millus and al the gyllies that be banished, be returned a-
 geyn to Rome. Certaynly the cruell warres that the god-
 dis permitte at this tyme presente, is but a warnyng of
 the chastisements for offences passed. For that the pl men
 haue done to the innocentes in dyuers dayes, after by the
 handes of other that be pl, the paines is made in one daye.
 This answer Apollo made to the priestes flampnes, that
 were sent to hym out of Rome, whiche thyng made the se-
 nate sore abashed. I remembre, that in the booke of the aun-
 swere of the goddis, in the annales of the capitoll, there I
 founde it: the whiche booke the fyfth daye of every monethe
 was red by a senator, before al the other senators of the
 senate. Therfore frend Antigonus, as the god Apollo sayd,
 If thou wylt not beleue me, that am thy frende, beleue the
 god Apollo. O Antigonus, beholde howe the understan-
 dyng of vapnmen are but bestly to the spirites of the god-
 dis, whiche are secret and hyd: and where as they speke, al
 other ought to be stille. For one counsell of the goddis is
 more worth than mockerie, than al the counsels of me, though
 they be neuer so earnest. Of whens thinkest thou that this
 cometh? I shall shewe the: The goddis are so persyte in
 all bowite, and so wysse in al wysedome, and we are so pl in
 all malysse, & so simple in all simplenes, that though they
 wolde erre, they can not bicause they be goddis: and we
 wolde be assured, erre, bycause we be men. And herein I se
 what a brute beast man is: for all these mortall men are so
 entier in theyr owne wylles, that they wyl lose more in fo-
 lowyng their owne opinion, than wyne by the counsel of
 an other man: and that worst of al is, they take so the bytte
 in the teeth in doyng yll, that there is no bydell that can
 restrayne them. And they are so slowe to do well, that there
 is no prycke nor spourre that can dyue them forwarde.

Al. ii. Thou

Thou doest complaine of the pittifull goddis, and of the
 sacrate senate. Also thou complainest of ioyfull fortune.
 Thre thynges there be, that one of them is inoughe with
 one stroke of a stone, to take away thy lyfe, and bury thy
 renoume. And whan eche of them hath drawen the apart,
 than al together wyl strike on the with stones. Thou hast
 taken great competitours, and yet I knowe not what thy
 worthynes is. I shall shewe the some strengthes and val-
 antnes that the aunciente barons hadde, and thereby thou
 shalt se, what they of this worlde dothe holde.

The felawe of Scipio Aslica toke a serpente in the
 mountayns of Egypt, whiche after it was slayne, slayed,
 and the skynne mesured in the felde of Mars, it was. vi.
 score fote of length. Hercules of Thebes proued his force
 with the serpente Hydra. And in strykynge of one of his
 heedes, there sprange out. vii. other heades.

Aylon the giaunt to exercise his strength was accusto-
 med every day to ouertake a bul with rennyng a foce, and
 cast hym downe, and he made many courses with the bull,
 as it were an other naked ponge man: and yet, that was
 moze metwayne, he with one stroke of his fyft slewe the bul,
 and the same daye wolde eate hym all together.

On mount Olympie Cerausus the giaunt of the nacion
 of Grece, wassteled with mo than. l. M. menne, and none
 coude styre nor shake him. And if Homere beguileth vs not
 of this gyaunt, he was of suche fame and dedes, that eue-
 ry foure yeres, there was a custome, that al nations of the
 worlde went to wasstele at mount Olympie. And therof came
 the rekenynge of the Olympiades.

In the second warre punike among the captiues of so-
 rowefull Carthage, Scipio brought a manne, a lord of
 Maurytayne, ryght strong and fierie to behold: and in ce-
 lebratyng a spectacle in the palaces of Rome, which was
 than

than of greatte renowne, there were innumerable beastes
 on at. This captiue prisioner leapt into the parke, and kyle
 two beares, and wastled with a lyon a great whyle: fi-
 nally being sore hurte with the lyons pawes, he strangled
 the lyon with his handes. This was a monstrous thyng
 to se, and nowe it seemeth incredyble to be belued.

In the yere. CCCC. xx. of the foundation of Rome, Cu-
 no Ledent a renowned capitayne, compynge fro Tarente
 agaynst Pyrrus kyng of the Spirotes: he was the first that
 brought. iiii. Oliphantes to Rome the day of his triumph.
 Stages and places were made for. xxx. M. men to se the
 runnyng of these Oliphantes: and in the myddes of the
 pastyme, the planks brake, and slewe mo than. v. M. per-
 sons. And amonge them there was Numatian, the whiche
 laye vpon his shulders a planke with mo than. iii. C. men
 all that he and they were succoured.

Cornelius Cesar beyng yonge, sleinge the compayne of
 Sylla, because he was petyrnyng to Marius, he beyng
 amonge the Rodiens man his meate with couerynge a run-
 nyng of hofes, with his handes bounde behynd hym. It
 was a monstrous thyng to se, as the annales wytnesse:
 howe he wolde gyde the hofes with his knees soo faste,
 as though he had drawen them with the reynes of theyr
 bridelles.

In the. xv. yere that the capitayne of Cartagenens en-
 tred into Italy, our aunient fathers sente to the realme
 of Frigie for the dyesse Berecynthia, mother of the god-
 dis: and whan she arriued at the porte Hostie, the shyppe
 that she came in, ranne vpon the sande, and by the space
 of. iiii. dayes. xxx. M. men, that came in the armpe, coude
 not remoue it: by chawice came thither one of the virgins
 bestales named Rea, whiche with her gyddelle tyed to the
 shyppe, drew it to the lande as easily as she wolde haue
 drawen

drawen a threde from the distaffe. And to the intende that we shulde beleue suche thynges, as we hve here done in tynes past, we may knowe it by dedes done siently in our days. I remembre whan my lord Adrian came fro Dacie he dydde celebrate a spectacle in Rome, wherein there was mo than .ii. M. wylde bestes. And the thyng most notable þe we haue sene, there was a knyght boznie by the riuier Danubio, who toke a horse, and ran into the parks, and slewe so many wylde bestes, that there fledde fro hym lions, leopar-des, beares, olyphantes, and we byd see fro them: and he slewe mo of them than they byd of men. These strange thynges I haue recyted to the, that of all these I am not so abashed, as I am of the, to se the redye to doo armes against the goddis, and against the senate, and against fortune. These thre are gyanntes in vertuouse valyauntys, and happy at all tynes: and they be suche as commande them that commande other. The goddis by theyr watralyte and power close vp the furies, and gouerne the sterres. And the senate with theyr iustyce overcommeth reames, and subdueth tyrantes: and fortune with her tyrany taketh them that they leaue, and leaueth them that they take: and honoureth them that they dishonour, and chastyseth them that serue her: she begyleth euery person, and no person begyleth her: she promyseth moche, and fulfilleth nothyng: her songe is wepyng, and her wepyng is songe, to them that be deed amonge womes, and to them that lyue in fortunes: at them that be present she spurneth with her fete, and threareth them that be absent. All wyse men shyynke fro her, but thou lyke a sole she weste her thy face. Of one thyng I am abashed of the, to complayne of the senate, and yet I meruaile not: for in conclusion they be but men: yet of trowth in thynges of iustyce they ought to be moze than men. And to complayn on fortune, I meruaile

maye not a lttell: for in the ende fortune is fortune among
 mortalle men. And all the heuens is of an aunciente qua-
 lity, and when we are besette with moost greatteste qua-
 lities, than she strykeh vs with moost greuous hurttes. I
 haue great wonder, that thou being a Romane, cōplaine
 on the goddes, as if thou were one of the barbariens. We
 Romayns are not so moche renowned among all nations
 for the multitude of realmes that we haue overcome, as
 we are for the great churches and seruices that we haue
 made. Thou complaine, howe the goddes haue broken
 thy houses with an earthquake, and haue slayne thy doughty
 felowe in thy banishment, and all in one daye: But
 thou doest not remembre the offences that thou hast comit
 in dyuers cases. O my frende Antigone, thou knowest
 not, þ out of our pl processes cometh forth good sentences:
 and thou knowest not, þ our wicked workes are but a wa-
 king of true iustice. Knowest thou not, that the fierse cha-
 tisementes, is but a presse that hasteth the gret cominges
 of your pynge desires: and knowest thou not, that it is no
 charge that the goddes do challyse openly, to that they do
 punish in secrete. Doest thou not knowe, that in conclu-
 sion the goddis be goddis, & the mortalles are mortalles;
 and they may do vs moze good in one day, than we can do
 seruice in a. C. yere. Doest thou not knowe, that the
 least good by the handes of the pitifull goddis, is moze
 goodnes than all the welch that maye come by the handes
 of the cruel men. Whereof dost thou complaine. I pray
 the be still. And sith thou art among straungers, suffre. And
 thou wilt haue honour, dishonour not the goddis of the
 Romayns. For the vnjust me do gret iniustice to speke ill
 of them that be iust: specially of the goddis, for they are
 moost iust. For as I can saye the greatest fault in a
 man that is good, is to approue the yll rather than þ good:
 and the

and the moſte grented pcell in all man is to contemne
 the good for the ill. Thou knoweſt not how much the gods
 diſbe. Of trouthe they chaunge not for any prayer, nor
 leaue not for any thing; they rages, nor mocks not by wordes;
 nor be not corrupte with gyfes. Great ought thy offence
 to be, ſithe the erthe hath taken vengeance for the goddis;
 and thy innocent daughter hath payde the faulte, for the
 offence of her father. O Antigone, doſt thou not knowe,
 that in all thynges the goddis may worke after their own
 opinion and wille, excepte in iuſtice: for in that they be
 goddis of all, they oughte to be egall to all. And if they
 bountie doth bynde them to rewarde vs for goodneſſe, no
 leſſe they iuſtice conſtrayneth them to chaſtiſe vs for our
 ylls. It is a greatte cuſtome, and a rightcouſe. Juſtice,
 he that wyllynge draweth to ſpaine, agaynſt his wylle
 drawen to peyne. I ſay it becauſe thy daughter hath leſte
 to do ſome good openly, or elles ſhe hath done ſome ſecrete
 yll, ſpith in her yowth her lyfe is bereued frome her father
 for euſample of chaſtiſement to other. And in the ende of
 thy letter thou complaineſt, that the pegne that men doo
 to the, is more greater than the offences that thou haſte
 done to the goddis. And if he be thus frende Antigone,
 thou oughteſt to haue no diſpleaſure, but pleaſure, no he-
 uynes but ioye. And I ſwear to the by the immortal gods,
 I wolde gladly chaunge my lybertie for the captiui-
 tie, and the ſtate of Rome for thy banymiſment of Syracuſe.
 And I ſhall telle the why: he is honoured amonge them
 that be honoured, that fortune abateſh without fault; and
 he is ſhamed amonge them that be ſhamed, that fortune
 inhaſeth without merite. For the ſhame is not in the in-
 convenientes that is done to vs by men, but it is of the offence
 that we committe agaynſt the goddis. And in what caſe the
 honourable honour reſpecteth not in the oppugnes that we
 haue

haue, but in the good workes, wherby we merite. And
 wherby the wordes seme trewe, that the. xi. imperour of
 Rome bare wyten in a ryng on his synger, whiche sayde
 thus: More is he to be honoured, that deserueth honour,
 than he that hath it and deserueth it not. These wordes
 are greatly to be noted, and spoken by a great lord. Than
 retourne to the purpose. Thou complaynest of the wronges
 and greues that men do to men, and leue the goddis.
 I haue no meruayle: for as the goddis do neuer vniuste
 thynges, so the menne neuer lyghtly do any thyng iuste.
 Note this that I say, and forgette it not. The senate gy-
 ueth an open payne, and publysheth the secreete faulte, in
 suche maner that with the payne they hurte vs, and with
 the faute the shame vs. The goddes are more pitie full:
 for though they gyue vs payn, yet they kepe the fault close.
 I my frend Antigone, though the goddes gather togider
 the flouth and wyckednes, that we commytte secretely,
 beleue me and doute not, the goddis gyue lyfe to many,
 the whiche men bereueth. Therefore I thynke, that thou
 shuldest thynke and wythe, that syth the goddis haue suf-
 fered the pyles that thou hast done secretly, that thou muste
 suffice open chastysment, that men haue gyuen to the. For
 other wyse thynkyng to put away the payne, thou shalt a-
 byde charged with infamy. I haue wyten to the this long
 tpylle, to the intent that thou shuldest haue some thyng to
 passe the tyme with. Certaynly the greatest easemente to
 ease hym that is in trawayle, is to exercyse the wauerynge
 harte with some good occupacions. I wyll write no more
 to the at this tyme, but as touchyng thy banysshement,
 truste me I shal byngethe at one with the senate. I sende
 Panutius my secretarpe to the, gyue as moche credence to
 his wordes, as to my letter. And he byngeth a gowne to
 the, and therewith my harte and wyll for to comforte the.

Am

Salu-

Salutation, peace, and good age be with the: and the tre of the goddis and yll fortune be seporate fro me. Marke, my household, wyfe, and chyldre salute the as thyn owne. And we salute all thy familie as our owne. Though the halfe of my letter be not of my hande, comferte the, for my harte is entirely thyne. Thou knoweste howe I was greuously hurte in the warres of Dacie in my hande, and in moyste wethers one of my fyngers sepeeth. Thus I make an ende as alwayes thyn owne.

An other letter sent by Marc themperour to the same Antigonus ageynst cruell iuges.

Cheleneth letter.



Marke the sycke maine, to the Antigonus banysed, desyareth salute for hym, and reste for the. To eschewe the enuyous trauaples of Rome, and to se certayne booke of Hebrewe, that were broughte to me fro Helya, I came hyther to Sanya: I made great haaste in my iournayes, how be it at Salon the feuer toke me: and the .xx. daye of June I receyued thy seconde letter, and the same houre the feuer quartayne toke me. I thynke none of vs bothe had the better hande. For neyther my longe letter dydde put away thy trauaple, nor thy shorte letter dyd put away my feuer. And though as nowe the felyng of thy trauaile minissheth that I had, the more brenneth the desyre to remedy the. Therfore I wyl say some thynge to the, but not that I fynde any consolation, that thou haste nede therof. In the lawe of Rhodes I haue founde these wordes: we commaunde, that none be so hardy to gyue counsayl with out remedy: for the wordes to hym þ is in trouble gyuethe small consolation, whā there is no remedy. Also the harte that is in sorow, hath more rest shewyng his own greues, than

man herpnge the consolation of other. Thou sayest in thy
letter, that the censures ar right rigorous in that realme:
and therfore al that nation hath pt wyl with the senate. I
beleue well they haue good occasiō therof: for dishonou-
red men make the ministers of iustyce to be tygozous, and
namely they of that yle. For there is an ancient prouerbe,
that sayth, lyghtly all these yles ar yll, and the Siciliens
worste of all. Now adays the yll are mighty in theyr ylnes
and the good with theyr vertues are kepte so close, that yt
there be not some bydell by iustyce, the yll shuld possesse al
the world, and the good shuld synge the sholtly. But finally
to consider how vnable we be bozne, & ar enuironned with
so many ylles, beyng subiecte to so many miseries. I mer-
uaile not of the humanities that the humain people com-
mytteth: but I am ashamed of the cruel sentence that our
Censures do, not as Romayns, but as cruel tyrantes. Of
one thyng I am sore abashed, and greatly it troubleth my
wyttes, seinge naturally & of right the iustyce of the god-
dis is good, and we offendyng them, and that haue iustice
but lent to vs, yet we glozifie vs to be cruell: so þ the god-
dis do pardon iniuries done to thē, wherby fame of meke-
nes abyrdeth to them: and we chastyse the iniuries of other
wherby we wyne the fame of tyrantes. In good sothe there
is no man among men, nor humain among the humanis,
but he is as a brute beast, and wilde among wyld beastes,
that nameth hym selfe to be of the fleshe, and hath no pitie
to hurte other fleshe: nor consydereth not, that the goddis
hath made hym a meke beast & lowly by nature, & he beco-
meth a fiers serpente by malpce. In the .xii. pere of the fou-
dation of Rome, Romulus the first kynge sent a cōmāde-
ment into al places & realms nygh to hym: as to the Vol-
gues, Samites, & Rulliens, to Capue, Tarentis, & Alba-
noys: to the intent that all such as were banyshe troubled

¶ In u and

and persecuted in their realmes, shuld come to Rome, and there they shulde be receyued and well entreated: and except the hystories lye, Rome was more inhabited in tenneperes, than Babylon or Cartage in a. C. peres. O glorious harte of Romulus, that suche a thyng inuented: and glorious tongue, that suche a thyng commaundered: and glorious was the cite or countrey, that founded them vpon suche mercy and ppytie. I haue founde dyuers letters of dyuers realmes of the oriente, sent forth, mentioning thus We the kyng of Parthes in Asia, to the conscript fathers of Rome, and to the happy people of Italy, and vnto all them of that empyre, hauinge the name of Romaynes, and surname of clemency, Salutation to your persones, We sende peace and tranquillitie to you, as we demaunde the same of the goddis.

Thus than regarde, what glorious title of Clemencie our predecesseours Romaynes had: and what example of clemency they haue left for al emperours to come. Take thus for certayne, that the Censures or mynysters of Iustyce, forgettynge the pitie of the romayns, shall be reputed cruelle, as Barbariens: For Rome shall not repute them as her naturall chyldren, but as cruell ennemyes: and not for augmentours of the common welthe, but infa'mours and robbers of clemency.

When I was of the age of xxxvii. yere, beyng in the yle of Crete, nowe called Cypres, in wynter tyme, There was a mountayne called Archadio, wher vpon foure pylers were sette, and a sepulchre of a kyng of worthy fame, and in his lyfe pitiefull and full of mercy: and as one shewed me, there were certayne wordes wyten in greke letters rounde about the sepulchre, sayenge thus: I haue taken to me alwayes this counsaile, where as I myght do but lyttell good, I neuer dyd harme: & that that I myght haue

haue with peace, I neuer stroue for: Suche as I myght
ouercome with prayer, I neuer feared with thretynnges.
Where as I myght remedy secretly, I dyd neuer chastise
openly: theym that I myghte correcte with warnynges,
I neuer hurted with beatynges: Suche as I chastysed
openly, I fyrste aduertysed secretly: and synally I neuer
chastysed one, but I forgaue foure. I am ryght sorowfull
bycause that I haue chastysed: and am glad bycause that
I pardoned. In as moche as I was bozne as a manne,
my fleshe is here eaten with wormes: and bycause I haue
loued vertuously in my lyfe, my spytite shal now rest with
the goddis.

Howe thynkest thou my frende Antygonus, what an
Epitaphye was this? And howe glorious was his lyfe,
ythe the memoire of hym vnto this daye abydeth soo im-
mortall: And as the goddis may helpe me in al goodnes,
and defende me fro yll, I haue not so great delyte at Pom-
pey with his army, nor at Caius Julius Cesar with his
Gaules of Fraunce, nor at Scipio with his Affricans, as
I haue at the kyng of Cypres with his sepulcher. For that
kyng hath more glorie in that mountayne beingd deade,
than all the other had in all theyr lyues, with al theyr try-
umphes, that euer they had in Rome. I say not, but that
the wyckednes of yll people shulde be chastysed: for with-
out comparyson, he is worse that fauoureth the ylle, than
he that commytteyth the yll: for the one procedeth of weake-
nes: and the other of malice. But it semeth to me, and to al
other that be wyse, that as the synne is naturall, and the
chastysement volūtarie: so ought the rigour of Iustyce to
be temperate, so that the ministers shoulde shewe com-
passion rather than vengeance: wherby the trespassours
shulde haue occasyon to amende theyr synne passed, and
not to reuenge the iniurie present. O what places and

realmes haue ben losse, not for the plines that the pl people hath committed, but rather by the disordinate Iustyce, that the ministers of iustyce haue exercised: Thinking by their rigour to correcte the domages passed, wherby hath tylen sclauanders and stryfe, neuer none such hard of afoze. wha a pynce sendeth any person with the charge of iustyce, he ought to say to hym these wordes, whiche Auguste Cesar sayd to the gouernour of Affrike: I put not the confidence of myn honour into thy hondes, no; committe to the my iustyce, to be a distroper of innocentes, no; an executioner of spynners: but that with one hande thou shuldest helpe the good to maynteyn them therein: & with the other hande to helpe to repse them that be yll from theyr noughtynesse. And myn intention is to sende the forth to be a pceptour of orphans, and an aduocate for wydowes, a surgyon for all woundes, a staffe for the blynde, a fathet to euey persone, to speke fayre to myn ennemyes, & to reioyce my frendes. In this maner I wolde thou shuldest vse thy selfe in euey place, so that by the fame of pitiefulnes, suche as be myn shalbe in reste & content to be my subiectes, and that straungers shalbe desyrous to come and to serue me.

This instructiō August Cesar gaue to a gouernour of his, bicause it was shewed him, that he was somewhat cruell in that realme. Certaynly they were shorte wordes, but they be right cōpendious. And wold to god they were wryten in the hartes of our iuges. Thou wrytest, how that ile is soze troubled by reason of þ censures & iuges therof. It is a noyfull trauaple to recepue the auctozitie of iustyce into the hande of an vniuste man: and it is a thng not to be suffred, that one with tyranny shulde tyrannysse dyuers other: not with the life, but with the auctozytie to correcte good men, therby to be called a good censure. The auctozite of his office giue to him by his pynce oughte to be his accellarye

essarie, and his good lyfe for principall: in suche maner, that by the rectitude of his iustice, the yll shuld fele the execution therof. Al that haue auctorite shuld tempze it with wysedome & purenes of liuynge. It is a great goodnes to the comon welth, and great confusion to hym that is chastysed wth payne, whā the miserable that is chastysed, seeth nothyng in hym that chastyseth, wherby he hath deserved to be chastysed. And cōtrary, it is great slackenes in a pynce to cōmaunde, and great shame to the comon welthe to consente, and greate inconuenience and reproche to the iudge to excute: whan a pooze wretche for a small faute is put to moze payne for the same smal faut done in one day, than is gyuen to them that be great for many tyrannies, that they haue committed durynge their life. These be they that peruerete the common welth, and sclander the worlde, and put them selfe out of auctoritie.

In the.iii. yere that great Dōprie toke Elia, the which is now Jerusalem, the same tyme beyng there Valerius Graccus, thyder came a Hebrewe, or a iewe, as the annales shewe, to complayne to the senate of the wronges and greues that were done to hym in that londe, & so in doyng his errāde in the name of al that pynce, he sayd these wordes: O fathers conscript, O happy people, your fatall denyes pynitte, and our god leueth vs with Jerusalem, lady of al Asie, & mother to þe Ebzues, to be in seruage of Rome & to the Romayns: Certeynly gret was þe power of Dōprie & moch moze þe force of his army to take vs. But therfore I say, that greater was the yre of our god, & without comparison the multitude of our synnes, wherby we dyd meite to be lost. I wold ye knew one thig, & it soze displeseth me, þe ye Romayns haue not proued it by experiece. That is, our god is so iust, þe if among vs there had be. x. iust mē & among .i. .xl. one good, he wold haue ydone al þe yll: And

And th an ye Romayns shuld haue sene as the Egypciens
 dyd, howe our god alone may do moch more than all your
 goddis togyther. And certaynly as longe as we be spyn-
 ners, so longe ye shall be our lordes. And as longe as the
 pye of the Hebꝛues god doth endure, so longe shall the po-
 wer of the Romayns laste. And bycause in this case I fo-
 lowe one way, and by your secte ye folowe an other waye,
 ye can not retourne to honour one god onely, nor I to ho-
 nour dyuers goddis. I wyll leue this matter to the god,
 by whose power we haue ben nourished, & by whose bouite
 we be gouerned, and retourne to the case of our embassade.
 ye knowe what peace hath ben betwene Rome and Iudee
 and botwene Iudee and Rome, we with you, and ye with
 vs. In all thynges we haue obeyed you, and ye vs. Noo
 iuste thyng we haue denyed you. And bycause there is no
 thyng moze desyred of the people, and lesse put in opera-
 tion than is peace, and there is nothyng moze abhorred,
 by the which abhorryng euery man lyueth, tha is warre: I
 do warn you of this with truth, proupe therfore iustyce,
 put them away & folowe your wylls to do vs pl. And let
 vs haue no suche maliciouse folke, as intyse vs to rebell.
 The greatteste signe and strongeste pyllet of peace is to
 put away the petturbers of peace. What profite is to say
 peace peace, & in secreete to say warre warre? I say this by-
 cause ye haue banished the eldest son of king Idumeo out
 of Lyon for his demerites, and ye haue sente in his stede
 Campanius, Marcus, Ruffus, and Valerius Graccus,
 for presidentes. They be.iiii. plagues, or.iiii. pestilences, so
 that the leaste of them were sufficient to enposson the hole
 empire of Rome, than moche soner our miserable realme
 of Palestyne. What thyng can be moze monstrous, than
 that the iudges of Rome shulde sende men to put away pl
 customes fro them that be pll, and they them selves are the
 inuen-

mentours of newe bysses: What greater shame and in-
 continence is in iustice, than they that haue auctoritie
 to chastise wanton youth, to gloufie them selfe to be capi-
 taines of theym that be wylder: What greater infamye
 can be in Rome, than they that ought to be vertuose and
 iuste, to geue example to other to be yll and vicious: Al ye
 if they haue not so wythen and enlarged the discipline of
 iustice, that they haue taught the youthe of Jude suche
 bysses, that haue not ben harde of by our fathers, nor red
 in no booke, nor sene in our tyme. O Romayns beleue me
 in one thyng, what counselles Jude hath taken of Rome
 at this houre, lette Rome take of Judee. Many realmes
 are gotten with myghty capitaynes, and moche shedynge
 of blode, and ought to be obserued with a good iudge, not
 in shedynge of blode, but in gettyng of hartes. Certayn-
 ly the iudge that wynneth moo good wylls than money,
 ought to be beloued: and he that serueth for moneye, and
 loseth the good wylls, for euer oughte to be abhorred as
 pestylence. What thynke ye is the cause nowe adays, that
 your presidentes be not obeyed in a iust cause: Of a trouth
 it is by cause, that fyrst the commaunde vniuste thynges.
 The commaundementes that be iust, maketh soft & meke
 hartes, and suche as be vniust, maketh men cruell. We be
 so myserable in all myseries, that to hym that commaun-
 deth well, we obey yll: and the moze yll they commaunde,
 the moze obeyed wolde they be. Beleue me in one thyng,
 that of the great lyghtnes and small sadnes of the iuges,
 is bredde lyttell feare and great shame in the subiectes. We
 that be ieiues thynk our selfe wel aduertised by the mouth
 of our god that sayth, Every pryncce commyttinge charge
 of iustice to hym that he seeth vnable to execute the same,
 or dothe not principally for Justice sake accomplishe iu-
 stice, but doth it for his owne profyte, or els to please the

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partie thynke surely, whan the prince dothe not regarde this, by some way that he thynketh least of, he shall see his honour infamed, his credence lost, his good minished, and some great chastysment come to his house. And bycause I haue other thynges to say in secreete, I wyl conclude as nowe openly. Finally I saye, if ye wyl conserue your realme longe tyme, for the whiche ye haue put your selfe in great perylls, kepe and maynteine Justice, and we shall beare you reuerence: Commaunde as Romayns, and we shall obey as Hebrewes: Goue vs a presydent, that is met full, and all our realme shal be obedyent: Be not to cruell to chastyse our mekenes, and we shal be the moze obedyent to your preeminence: I require you desyre vs or ye comande for in despyng a not comandyng, ye shall fynde loue as fathers to the chylde. And no treason as of lordes to seruantes. All these thynges sayd the iewe, wherof the senate had great meruayle. And forthwith the senatours prouided for.iii. iuste thynges. The one was, that all these wordes shulde be put in wrytyng, to the intent that they shulde be put in the booke ordeyned to wryte in all good sayynges of all straunge ambassadours. The seconde to put downe Gracchus Valerius, bycause he was so cruell, and in hatred with the people. The thirde, they prouided Pilate of Lion to be presidente of that realme. Thanne howe semeth it to the my frende Antigonus, dydde not this Hebrew speake hyghly: O Rome without Rome, that of Rome holdeth nothyng but the walles, and art fallen into unthyrsty vyces. What dyddest thou whan such a shame was layde to the by an Hebrew in the myddes of the senate? Certaynly the greatest plage among all plagys, and the greatest losse amonge all losses, is whan the prince hath his lyfe so without lyfe, his iustyce so without iustice, his dedes so without dedes, & in all euyl so bold and hardy, and in al good-

as such a reward, that rightwisely his owne men do ac-
 cuse him, and strangers reprove hym, none doeth love
 hym, but all hate hym, and his frendes wyl not helpe hym,
 his enemies wyl persecute hym: They that be present
 refuse his goodnes, and they that be absente procure his
 ill: they that lyue take awaye his lyfe, and the deade his
 sepulchre. Nowe to retourne to the purpose of our iuges.
 I praye the Antigonus, shewe me thy mynde, wherof co-
 meth nowe adayes the great sclaundre of the people, the
 infampe of the prince, and the peryll in Iustyce: If thou
 knowest it not, harken and I shall shewe the, wherby all
 goth out of order. They that be pryue are so importunate,
 and the princis not refusyng them: they begilyng and he
 sufferinge to be begyled: The one with couetyse, and the
 other with ignorance, doth gyue to suche, that he shoulde
 take fro, and take awaye fro suche as he shulde gyue vnto
 and honoureth them that dishonoureth hym, kepeth the
 myght wise in pryson, and delyuereth the vicious, dispiseth
 experte persones, and trusteth them that be leude: and fi-
 nally they proude not offices to men, but men to offyces.
 They ordeyne the vniuste to minister iustyce, and do iniu-
 tie to them that be iust. yet here and I shall shew the moze.
 These myserables after that they be appoynted and sette
 in theyr offices, wherof they be nothyng worthy, moze for
 theyr auctortie than for meryte of theyr persones, they are
 feared with theyr extreme iustyce. They take on them the
 state of greatte men with the sweatte and labour of poore
 men: They supply with malice that they wante of discre-
 tion: And worst of al, they mesure the iustyce of other men
 with theyr owne propre vtilitie. yet harken and I shal say
 moze. After that these ideotes se them selfe in the gulse of
 these vayne besynesses, than they lacke the reyne of know-
 lege, & the sayles of wisdom, & the ankers of experience,

no; can not remedy a small matter, but inuente other more greater, altering and troubling the peace for they; owne particular welth. They wepe for their owne harme, and no lesse for the welth of other, and finally lese them selves. And therfore they aduenture them selfe into the gulfes, and name they; lordes, that haue gyuen them suche offices, to gyue them to such as haue deserued them. Thou mayst know, that the beginning of them is pryde and ambition, and they; middell is enuie and malyce, and they; ende is death and destruction. And if my counsell were taken, suche shulde haue no credence with prynces or gouernours, but as sclaundered men to be seperate, not all onely fro the common welthe, but fro they; lyues. Surely great is the couetyse of them that be shamelesse, which without shame demaunde offices of the senate or pryncis : but it is a more boldenes of malyce for the pryncis to gyue them. In this and in the other thynges these are so dampnable, that neyther the feare of the goddis doth withdraue them, no; the pryncie doth not refrayne them, no; vengeance dothe not lette them, no; the common welth doth not accuse theym, and aboue all other reason, doth not commaund them, no; the lawe subdue them.

In my frend Antigonus note this worde that I write in the ende of my letter. In the pere of the foundation of Rome. vi. C. xlii. the Romaynes as thanne in the worlde hadde dyuers warres, as Gayus Celiu agaynst them of Trace, and Gueo Cordo his brother agaynst Sardyne, Junius Sylla agaynst the Umbres, Minutius Ruffus agaynst the Macidoniens, Seruilio Scipio agaynst the Lusitayns, and Marius consull agaynst Jugurtha kyng of the Numidiens, It befell so that Boco kyng of Mauritayne fauoured Jugurtha, and vpon them triumphed Marius, and they laded with chaines were led afore his chariot

chariot, not without great compaſſion of them that ſawe
it. After this triumph done, inconſequent the ſame day by
counſell of the ſenate, Jugurtha was beheaded in pylon,
and his companion Bocus had pardon of his life, and the
cauſe was, It was a cuſtome none to be putte to iuſtice,
but fyrſt the aunient bookes ſhuld be ſerched, to ſe if any
of his predecessours had done before any ſerupce to Rome
wherby the captiue ſhulde merite to haue pardone of his
lyfe: and than it was founde, that the grauntfather of Bo-
cus came to Rome, and made great orations before the ſe-
nate, by whose wordes and ſentences, his ſayd neww me-
rited to haue pardon of his life: and amonge other of his
ſayenges, he reherſed theſe verſes that ſayd: what is that
realme, where is no good amonge the yll, no? yll amonge
the good? what is that realme, that hath they? houſes ful
of good ſimple perſons, and banſheth away al wiſdom?
O? what is that realme, that ſuche as be good are cowar-
des, and the yll hardye? o? what is the realme, where al pea-
ſible are diſpleaſed, and the ſedicyous praiſed? What is
that realme that ſleeth them that wolde they? welthe, and
are angry with them that wolde helpe they? yll: o? what is
that realme, that permytteth the proude pooze folkes, and
the ryche tyrantes? o? what is that realme, where they all
know the euyl, and none procureth any goodnes? o? what
is that realme, where ſuche vices are openly commytted,
that other realmes feare to doo ſecretely? o? what is that
realme, where as all that they deſyre they procure, and all
that they do procure, they attayne, and all that is yll they
thynke, and al that they thynke they ſay, & al that they ſay
they may do, and all that they may do, they dare doo, and
put in operation that they dare do: and worſt of all, there
is none ſo good to reſpſt it: In ſuche a realme there ſhuld
be none inhabitaunte. For within ſhorte ſpace the yll men

An iii ſhall

shall be chaunged, or elles dispeopled of good men, or the
goddis wyl confounde them, or the tyrantis shal take the.
By whiche thynges were said, the which I passe ouer at this
tyme. Nowe thynkest thou Antigone? I swere by the im-
mortal goddis, that my hart bryketh to thinke of the great
shame that was layd vpon Rome by such wyting as was
lefte to them by the grauntfather of this kynge Bocus.
This my letter I wold thou shuldest rede in secreete to the
pretours, & if they amende not, we shall fynde the meanes
to chastise them openly. And as touchyng thy banyshe-
ment I promyse the to be thy good frende to the senate, that we
may ioy our auncient amitie to gether. And to get the out
of that ple, certainly I shall do my diligence. I haue wryt-
ten to my secretary Panutius to deliuer the. ii. M. sexters
to releue thy pouertie: and thus I sende the my letter to
comfort thy heuy hart. I say no more, but the goddis grie
the contentation of that thou woldest haue ioy, and rest, o
thy person. And al corporal euyls, cruel ennynes, and fatal
destenies be seperate fro me Marke. For the behalfe of my
wife Faustine, I salute the, and thy wyfe Rufa: She is
thyn, and I am thyn. With visitation of ioy I haue recei-
ued thy letter, and thankefully I send the myn. I shal not
reste to desire to se thy persone in Italy, and there in Si-
cyle to leue my feuer quartayne.

A letter sent by Marcus to Lambert gouernour of the
ple of Helespont, whan he dyd banyshe the bacabun-
dis fro Rome. The. xi. letter.

MArke emperour of Rome, lord of Asie, confederate w
them of Europe, frend of them of Affrike, ennemye
of the Maures: To the Lamberte gouernour of
the ile of Helesponte, sendethe of his parte contentation
and

and suretie fro the sacrate senate. I am furred with þ fur-
res that thou hast sent me, & am clothed with thy matel, &
am right well pleased with thy greyhoundes: If I hadde
thought, that thy absence fro Rome shuld haue procured
so moche fruit in that yle: longe ago I shulde haue deter-
mynd as well for thy profyte as for my seruice. I sent to
the in demaundyng but small thinges in my spozte, and
thou hast sent me many thynges in earnest. In good sothe
thou hast better propozcioned thy serupce with noblenes,
than I to commaunde with my couetise. For yf thou reme-
bre, I sent to the for a dosenne skynnes of furre, and thou
hast sent me .xii. dosenne: and I dyd sende but for .vi. grei-
houndes, and thou hast sent me .xii. Truly in this case my
pleasure is double. For here in Rome thy great largesse is
publyshed, and my smal couctyse there in Helesponte. And
bycause I am sure thou hast great thankses of me, I pray
to god to sende the salute and helthe: And that fortune be
not denied the at a good houre. I sende the .iii. barkes of
mayster foles, & yet I haue not sent the al. For if I had ba-
nyshed all the foles in Rome, we shoulde haue peopled vs
with a newe people. These mayster foles haue ben so wily
to teche foly, & the Romayn youth so apt to lerne, though
they be but in .iii. barkes, they disciples wold lade .iii. *Q.*
Carrakes. I haue great meruayle of one thyng, and my
hart sclaundzeth the goddis: for I se wel that erthquakes
casteth down houses, & gret waters bereth away bydges,
froste freseth the vines, soden thouderynge & tempestes
bryketh down toures, scarstie of water causeth derty, cor-
rupt aire maketh an ende of the that be wise: & yet there is
nothyng that can make an ende of these foles. All thyng-
ges at this day faileth at Rome, except all only these ydell
tremandes, gestours, tombles, players, or dromslayes,
iuglers, & suche other, of whom there is inowe & to many.
What

What a seruyce shuldest thou doo to the goddis, & what
 profyte to Rome, that for thy barkes full of folcs to sende
 one lade with wyse men: One thyng I wyll say, that with
 the bones of the wyse men that ple is halowed, that ancy-
 ently were banysshed by the malyce and enuye of theym of
 Rome: if thy smellynge wyttes be not lost, as Italy syn-
 keth of them that be symple, so that ple smelleth swete of
 wyse men. whan I came fro the warres of the Parthes,
 the. liii. yere of myne empyre, I passed into that ple by dy-
 uers sees to see the sepulchres of ancient wyse men: and
 in the cytie of Dozbite in the myddes therof, lyeth Diude,
 that was banysshed by August: and vnder the mountayne
 Arpines is the sepulchre of the renowned Armeno oratour,
 banysshed by Sylla: at the porte of Argonaut thou shalte
 fynde the bones of Colliodozus recapituler of the antyke
 lawes, that was banysshed by Nero the cruell: and in the
 felde of Elmos, vnder a marble, is the pouders of Syli-
 so Seteno that was so wel lerned in the. vii. artes liberal,
 as though he had newe founde them, he was banysshed by
 the Marions. I say for trouthe thou shalte fynde it thus,
 for with my knees I haue touched theyr sepulchres. And
 all that season my tender eyes were as fulle of water, as
 theyr bones were harde in the erthe. These were not ba-
 nyshed for no vilanyes that they had done: but it was the
 metyte of our forefathers, that they wolde be priuated fro
 the company of so noble barons: and we theyr chylberne
 fro the poudre of so renowned sages. I can not tell whi-
 che is the greater, the fantasie that I haue to thy ple, or
 the compassyon of myserable Rome. I do pray the as my
 frende, and commaunde the as my seruant, to regarde the
 places that I haue shewed the. For it is a iuste thyng, and
 most iuste, that suche cyties be priuileged by them that ly-
 ueth, whan they are peopled with suche deade wyse men.

And

And mozeouer, Centurion knoweth by wordes, the heavy
 case, that these prysoners had with vs, and we with them,
 the daye of the feast of mother Berecynthia. I say, I sawe
 not that daye so moch crueltie in Rome, as we caused infamye
 throughe all the empyre. Rome that neuer was ouer-
 come, by them that were valyant and vertuous, that daye
 we sawe ouergone, and trodden vnder foote, by those foles.
 The walles of Rome, that were neuer touched by the Doe-
 niens, had that daye their lowpes full of armed trewades:
 Rome that triumphed ouer al realmes, was triumphed v-
 pon that daye, with tombles & iuglers. I am so abashed
 in this case, that I wot not what to say or to write. yet one
 thyng cōforteth me, that sith Rome & the romayns must
 ly do reioyce with these fooles: she and the famous wyse
 men, iustly shalbe chastised for these foles. And in this the
 goddis shall not be dyspleased, that sythe Rome laugheth
 at these trewandies and mockeries, one daye she shall wepe
 with these tombles and iuglers. I banyshe all these for
 euer fro Rome, not for the bloudde that they haue shedde,
 but for the hartes, that they haue peruerted: not for the oc-
 casyon of any that be deed, but bicause they were maisters
 of folies. Without cōparison it is greater offence to the
 goddis, and moze damage to the cōmon welthe, these tre-
 wandes to take away the wyttes fro the wyse folkes, than
 the murtherers to take away mens lyues. If the greatest
 gyfte, among all gyftes of fortune, be, to kepe a good wit,
 let no manne presume, to be of a restfull vnderstandynge,
 that is an extreme frende to these trewandes. Beleue me
 one thyng. As one byde loueth an other, and one beste an
 other, and one wyse man an other: so one foole loueth an
 other foole.

¶ I remembre, on a daye, as I reuolued the regysters in the
 Capitoll, I redde a ryght meruaylous thyng of Quetus

Do

a fa-

MARCVS

a famous oratour, whiche is buried in the yle of Delospe, on the most Adamantine, Whan great Scipio came fro the warre of the Poeniens, better accompanied with hunger stouen trewandes, than with valiant capptaynes, he sayd to hym: Of trouthe it is great shame to the, and a small honour to the senate, that thou, that haste ouercome the wyse Affres, and beynge so wyse thy selfe, and of the blode of the wyse Romaynes, wylte be accompanied with these trewandes and fooles. In that unhappy realme, all the wyse men coulde not ouercome one, that was thought so myghty, amonge so many fooles. I say to the, that thy wyt is in more peryll here in Rome, thā thy lyfe in Affrike. ¶ These were good wordes, and not of no worldely mallice. And within a shorte while after, and by dyuers lyght persons, and for a smal occasyon, this pooze olde oratour, and ryche philosopher, by the frendes of Scipio, was banished Rome, and sent into that yle.

¶ Than behold Lambert, let vs retorne to these iuglers and trewādes. Whan they are landed in that yle, let them go frank & fre, so that they vse not theyr accustomed toys. Thou shalt constrayne them to labour, and chastyse them yf they be ydell. For these miserable folke, fleinge fro iuste trauayle, take on them vniust ydelnes, & conuerte mo men with theyr trewandysse, than if open scooles of bacabundes were kepte. There is nothyng that our forefaders did that displeaseth me so moche, as the sufferance of these vnthypsty trewandes.

¶ In the yere. CCCvi. of the foundation of Rome, in the tyme of an horryble pestilence in Italy, to reioyce the people, was fyrst found out the inuention of Theatres, by the aduise of the trewandes. It is a shamefull thyng to here, that the pestilence duryd but two yeres, and the rage of these vnthypstes, dureth. iiii. C. yeres.

Lam.

Clamberte, I beleue well, that the complayntes, that
 these prisioners haue begon here, shall neuer haue an ende
 there. How be it, I care not: for the grudge of them, that
 be pille, iustifieth the iustyce and sentence of them, that be
 good. As the mayster of Ahero sayde: As moche as the
 shame of synne oughte to be fledde of them, that be good,
 so moche prayse, is the infampe of the yll. I shall telle the
 one thynge, to the intent, that the chastysment shulde not
 seme cruell to the. Seyng the emperours of Rome are ful
 of clemency to straungers, it is no reason, that they shuld
 be so sharpe to theyr owne. Sythe fatall destenpes hath
 brought me into this worlde, I haue sene nothynge more
 unprouysable to the common welthe, nor greater folye in
 them, that be lyght of condicions, nor a worse inuention
 for vacabūdes, nor a more cold reuocation of mortal folke
 than to lerne of these gannners & trifeles, & such other iug-
 lers. What thing is more mostrous, than to se wise men re-
 ioyce at the pastyme of these vaine trifeles: what greater
 mockery can be in the capitoll, than the folysse sayenge of a
 gestour, to be praysed, wth great laughter of wise mē: what
 greater sclaunders can be to princis houses, than to haue
 their gates alwayes open to receiue in these folles, and ne-
 uer open to wyse folkes: what gretter cruelty can there be
 in any person, than to giue more in one day to a folle, than to
 his seruantes in a yere, or to his kin, al his life: what gret-
 ter inconstancie can there be, than to want men to furnyshe
 the garisons and frōtiers of Alirico, and these trewādes
 to abide at Rome: what like shame can there be to Rome,
 than that the memory shalbe left more in Italy, of these tom-
 blers, trewādes, pypers, singers of gestes, tabourers, cru-
 ders, dcāers, mōiners, gesters, & iuglers, than the renome
 of capitains, with their triūphes & armes. And whan these
 cautifes wādred al about in Rome in sauetie, sownig their

Do it lewde

lewdenes, and gebernyng of money: the noble barons and capitaynes, went fro realme to realme, wasting their money, aduenturynge theyr lyues, and shedynge theyr blode.

In the vttermoſt parte of Spayne, whanne warre began betwene the Iberiens and Goditaynes, and they of Iberie laked money: Two iuglers and tabourers, offered to maynteyne the warre a hole yere. And it folowed, that with the goodes of two fooles, many wiſe men were flaine and ouercome.

In Ephese, a cite of Aſie, the famous temple of Dyana was edified with the confiscaſiō of the goodes, of ſuch a trewande and ſole,

Whan Cadmus edified the cite of Thebes in Egypte, with .l. gates, the mynſtelles gaue hym more towarde it, than all his frendes.

If the hyſtoꝛie be trew, whan Auguſt edified the walles of Rome, he hadde more of the trewandes, that were drowned in Cybze, then of the comynion treaſourie.

The firſte kynge of Coꝛinth aroſe by ſuche villaynes. I ſawe his ſepulchre at Coꝛinthie. And as I ſawe of theſe ſmal nobze, I myght ſay of many other. Behold than Alſe bert, howe littell care the goddis take, and howe variable the caſe of fortune is, and how the dedes of men fal. Som be had in memoꝛy foꝛ theyr ſolp, and ſome foꝛ theyr wyſedome. One thyng is come to my mynde, of the chaunce of theſe trewandes, and that is: while they be in preſeꝛce, they make euery man to laugh at the ſolpes, that they do and ſay: and whan they be gone, euery man is ſorꝛow foꝛ his money, that they bare away. And of trouthe, it is a true ſentence of the goddis, that ſuch as haue taken dayn plesure togyther, whan they are departed, to weep foꝛ theyr loſſes. I wyl wyte noo more vnto the: but I do ſende the this letter in Greke, to the entent that thou ſhewe it ouer all

all the ple. . . sende forth with the shippes agayne, for
they muste be sent forth with provisions into Illyrico.
Peace be with the Lamberte, helthe and good fortune be
with me Marc. The senate saluteth the. And thou on my
behalfe, shalte shewe to the Ile, the ioyfull happy custo-
mes. My wyfe Faustine saluteth the, and sendeth a ryche
gyddell to thy daughter. And in recompence of the fures
I sende the ryche icwelles.

A letter sent by Marc thempour to Catulus his
speciall frende, of the noueltis of Rome.

The xiii. letter.



Marcus the newe Censure, to the Catulus
the olde Censure. It is, x. dayes paste,
that in the temple of god Janus, I re-
ceyued thy letter: and I take the same
god to wytnesse, that I had rather haue
seene thy personne. Thou wytteste, howe
my wrytynge is longe, but the shortnesse
of tyme maketh me to aunswere the more bryfly, farre a-
wayne more thanne I wolde. Thou desirest me, to gyue the
knowlege of the newes here. Therto I aunswere, that it
were better to demaunde, if there be any thyng abydien
here in Rome or Italy, that is olde. For nowe by our heuy
destentes, all that is good and old is ended, and newe thin-
ges, that be yll and detestable, we may se dayly. The mpe-
rour, the Consule, the Tribune, the Senatours, the E-
diles, the Flamynes, the Aedours, the Centurions, all
these thynges, be newe, but the vilaines, that ben olde, & al
passeth to make newe offices, and to ordeyne statutes and
practyses, to come to the coinceles, and to reyse bp sub-
sidies. In such wyse, & there hath ben nowe mo nouelties

within these .liiii. yeres, than in tyme passed in .liiii. C. yeres.
 We nowe assemble together a .liii. C. to counsell in the ca-
 pitoll, and there we blason and boiste, swere and promise,
 that some of vs maye subdue and put vnder other, to fa-
 uour one, and distrope an other, other to chastyse the yll, &
 rewarde the good: To repayre olde, and edifie newe: To
 plucke vices vp by the rootes, and to plante vertues: to
 amende the olde, and folowe the good: to reproue tyraun-
 tes, and assiste the pooze: and whenne that we are goone
 from thens, they that spake beste wordes, are often taken
 with the worst dedes. O heuy Rome, that nowe abayes
 hath suche Senatours, that in sayeng, we shal do, we shal
 do, passeth theyr lyfe: and than euery man, sekynge for his
 owne profyte, forgetteth the comon welthe. Oftentymes
 I am in the Senate, to beholde other, as they regard me:
 and I am abashed, to here the eloquence of theyr wordes,
 the zeale of iustice, and the iustification of theyr persones:
 and after that I come thens, I am ashamed, to se their se-
 crete extorcion, theyr damnable thoughtes, and theyr yll
 werkes, so playnely manifeste. And yet there is an other
 thyng of moze meruayle, and not to be suffred that suche
 personnes, as are mooste defamed, and vse mooste dysho-
 nest vices, w^{ch} theyr most damnable intentiōs, make theyr
 auowes to do mooste cruell iustice. It is an ineffable rule,
 and of humayne malyce mooste v^{se}d, that he that is mooste
 hardy, to committe greatest crimes, is mooste cruel, to gyue
 sentence agaynst an other for the same offence. We thinke
 that we regard our owne c^{ry}mes, as throughe small net-
 tes, that causeth thinges to seme the lesser. And we reme-
 bre the fautes of other, in the water, that causeth thynges
 to seme greater than they be. O howe many haue I seue
 condempned to be hanged by the senate, for one smal faute,
 done in all the lyfe, and yet they commytte the same faute
 euery

every houre.

I haue redde, that in the tyme of Alexander the great, there was a renowned pirate or a rouer on the see, whiche robbed and drowned all shippes, that he coulde gette: and by commaundement of this good kynge Alexander, there was an army sent forth to take hym. And whan he was taken, and presented to Alexander, the kynge sayd to hym: Shewe me Dionides, why doest thou kepe the see in danger, that no shyp can sayle out of the east into the west, for ther The Pirate answered, and sayde: If I kepe the se in daunger, why doest thou Alexander, kepe all the see and lande as lobster. O Alexander, bycause I fyghte with one shyppe in the see. I am callyd a theefe, and bycause thou robbest with .ii. C. shippes on the see, and troublest all the worlde with two. C. thousande menne, thou art called an emperour. I swere to the Alexander, yf fortune were as fauourable to me, and the goddis as extreme ageynst the: they wolde gyue me thynne empire, and gyue the my lyttell shyppe, and than peraduenture, I shulde be a better kyng than thou arte, and thou a worse thefe than I am.

These were high wordes, and well receyued of Alexander: and of trouth, to se yf his wordes were correspondent to his promyses, he made hym from a pyrate to a great capytayne of an army: and he was more vertuous on land, than he was cruell on the see.

I promyse the Catulus, Alexander dyd ryght wel ther in, and Dionides was to be praysed gretly, for that he had sayd. Now adays in Italy, they that robbe openly, are called lordes: and they that robbe pryuely, are called theues.

In the pere booke of Linius, I haue redde, that in the seconde troublous warre pumpke, betwene the Romaines and Carthaginens, there camme an ambassadoure Ausp-
tayne, sent fro Spayne, to treatte for accorde of peace.

Wohan

When he came to Rome, he proued before the Senate, that
 syth he entred into Italye, he had ben. x. tymes robbed of
 his goodes, and whyles he was at Rome, he had sene one
 of them that robbed hym, hange by an other, that had de-
 fended hym. He seinge so ylle a dede, and howe the thefe
 was saued without iustyce, as a desperate manne, toke a
 cole, and wrote on the gybet as foloweth.

O gybet thou art made among theues, nourished among
 theues, cut of theues, wrought of theues, made of theues,
 set amonge theues, and thou art peopled with innocentis.

And there as I red these wordes, was in the original of
 Liuius, and in his histories. I swere to the by the immor-
 tall goddis, that all the Decade was written with blacke
 ynke, and these wordes with redde vermillion. I can not
 tell, what wordes I shulde sende the, but that euery thing
 is so newe and so tender, and is ioyned with so yll sement,
 that I feare me, all wyll fall sodenly to the playne erthe.
 I tell the, that some are sodaynly rysen within Rome vnto
 valour, to whom I wyll rather assure their fall, than their
 lyfe. For all buyldeynge hastily made, can not be sure. The
 longer a tree is kept in his kynde, the longer it wyll be
 it be olde. The trees, whose fruyte we eate in sommer, doo
 warme vs in wynter. O howe many haue we sene, wher-
 of we haue meruayled of theyr rysynge, and ben abashed
 of their falles. They haue growen as a hole piece, and so-
 denly wasted as a scomme. Their felicitie hath ben but a
 shorte point, & their infortune as a long lyfe. Finally they
 haue armed the myll, & armed it with stones of encreace,
 and after a lyttel grinding, lefte it in byle at the hole pere
 after. Thou knowest wel, my frend Catulus, that we haue
 sene Cincius Fuluius in one pere made consule, and his
 chyldren tribunes, and his wyfe a matron for yonge may-
 dens, and besyde that, made keeper of the capitol, and after
 that

that not in one yere but the same day we saw Cincius be-
 heeded in the place, his chylderne drowned in Tybze, his
 wyfe banysched froo Rome, his house rased downe to the
 grounde, and all his good confysked to the common trea-
 sourie. This rigorous example we haue not redde in any
 booke to take a copie of it, but we haue sene it with our eies
 to kepe it in our myndes. As the nations of people are va-
 riable, so are the condicions of men dyuers, and appetites
 of mortall folke: and me thynketh this is true, seying that
 some loue, some hate, and that that some seke, some esche-
 weth: And that that some setteth lyttell by, other make of.
 In such wise that al can not be contēt with one thyng, nor
 some with all thinges can not be satisfyed. Let euery man
 chuse as hym lyst, and embrace the worlde whan he wylle,
 I had rather mount a softe pace to the fallynge, and yf I
 can not come therto, I wyl abyd by the way, rather than
 with sweatte to mount hastily, and than to tumble downe
 heedlyng. In this case sith mens hartes vnderstand it, we
 ned not to wyte further with penne. And of this matter
 regarde not the lyttell that I do saye, but the great Deale
 that I wyl say. And sith I haue begon, and art in strange
 landes, I wyl wyte the all the newes fro hens. This yere
 the .xxv. day of May, there came an ambassadour out of
 Asie, sayenge he was of the yle of Cetyu, a barone ryghte
 elegant of body, ruddy of aspect, and right hardy of cou-
 rage. He considered beyng at Rome, though the sommers
 dayes were longe, yet wynter wolde drawe on, and than
 wolde it be daungerous saylynge into his yle: and sawe
 that his besynes was not dispatched: On a daye beyng at
 the gate of the senate, seynge all the Senatours entre in
 to the Capitolle, without any armour bypon them, he as a
 man of good spyte, and zelatour of his countreie, in the
 presence of vs all, sayd these wordes:

¶

¶

M A R C V S

O father conscripte, O happy people, I am come fro
a straunge countreye to Rome, onely to see Rome, and I
haue founde Rome without Rome: The walles where-
with it is inclosed, hath not broughte me hyther, but the
fame of them that gouerne it. I am not come to se the tre-
soure, wherein is the treasure of all realmes: but I am
come to se the sacred senate, out of the whiche issueth the
counsell for al men. I came not to see you, bicause ye van-
quish all other, but bycause I thoughte you moze vertu-
ouse than all other. I dare well saye one thyng, except the
goddis make me blynd, and trouble myn vnderstandyng,
ye be not romayns of Rome, nor this is not Rome of the
romayns your predecessours. We haue harde in our ple,
that dyuerts realmes ben wonne by the valyantes of one,
and conserued by the wysdome of all the senate: and at
this houre ye are moze lyke to be dystroyed, than to wyne
as your fathers dydde: all theyr exerceyse was in goodnes,
and ye that are theyr chyldren, passe all your tyme in cer-
monies. I saye this ye Romayns, bycause ye haue almost
kylde me with laughinge at you, to see howe ye doo all as
moche your diligence to leaue your armure withoute the
gate of the senate, as your predecessours dyd to take them
to defende the empire. What profyte is it to you to leaue
your armes for the suretyes of your personnes, and putte
them on, wherewith ye flee all the worlde? What profyteth
it to the thoughtfull sypster, that the senatour entreth vn-
armed into the senate without swerde or dagger: and his
harte entreth in to the senate armed with malyce? O Ro-
maynes, I wyl ye knowe, that in our ple we holde you not
as armed Capptayns, but as malicious senatours: not w
sharpe grounden swerdes & daggers, but with harde hat-
tes and venomous tongues ye feare vs. If ye shuld in the
senate put on harnes, & therewith take away your lyues, it
were

were but a small losse, seynge that ye susteyn not the iunocentes, no: dispatche not the busineses of suters. I canne not suffre it. I can not telle in what state ye stande here at Rome: for in our pyle we take armour from soles, whether your armours are take awaye as fro soles or madde folkes, I wote not. If it be done for ambitiousnes, it cometh not of Romayns, but of tyrantes, that wranglers and irefull folke shuld not be iuges over the peasible, & the ambitious over the meke, & the malicious over the symple. If it be done bicause ye be folys, it is not in the law of the goddis, that.iii.C. soles shulde gouerne.iii.C. M. wise men. It is a longe season that I haue taried for myn aunswere and licence, and by your madnes I am now farder of, than I was the fyrst day. We byynge oyle, hony, saffron, wood, and tymber, salt, syluer, and gold out of our pyle into Rome and ye wyl that we go elles where to seke iustyce. ye wyl haue one lawe to gather your rentes, and an other to determyne our iustyces. ye wyl that we pay our trybutes in one day, and ye wyl not dyscharge one of our errandes in a hole yere. I requyre you Romayns determine your selves to take awaye our lyues, and so we shal ende: or els here our complayntes, to thentent that we may serue you. For in an other maner it may be than ye knowe by hering with your eares, which peraduenture ye wolde not se with your eien. And if ye thynke my wordes be out of mesure: so that ye wyl remedy my contrey, I set not by my lyfe. And thus I make an ende. Verily frend Catulo these be the wordes, that he spake to the senate, which I gat in wrytynge. I say of trouth, that the hardines, that the Romayns were wot to haue in other countres, the same as nowe straungers haue in Rome. There were that sayde, that this ambassadour shoulde be chastysed, but the goddis forbod: that for sayenge trouth in my presence, he shulde haue ben correct.

It is ynough and to moch to, to suffre these euyls, though we see no; persecute those that aduertise and warne vs of them. The shepe ar not in suretie of the wolfe, but if the shepard haue his dogge with him. I mene, dogges ought not to leane barkynge for to awake the shepardes. There is no god commaundeth, no; lawe counsaileth, no; common welthe suffred, that they whiche are commytted to chastyse lyers, shulde hang them that say trouthe. And sith the senatours shewe them selfe men in theyr lyuynge, and somtyme moze humayne than other that be slaues, who elles shulde delpuer them fro chastysment? O Rome and no Rome, haupng nothyng but the name of Rome, where is now become the noblenes of thy tryumphes, the glorie of thy chylde;en, the rectitude of thy Iustyce, and the honour of thy temples: for as nowe they chastyse hym moze that murmureth agaynst one onely senatour, than they do them that blasphemie al the goddis at ones. For it greuethe me moze to se a Senatour or censure to be worke of all other, than it displeaseth me, that it shuld be sayde, that he is the best of all other. For a trouthe I saye to the my frende Catulus, that as nowe we nede not to seke to the goddes in the temples, for the Senatours are made goddis in our handes. This is the difference betwene theym that ben immortall, and they that be mortall. For the goddis neuer do thynge that is yll, and the Senatours doo neuer good thynge: the goddes neuer lye, and they neuer say trouthe: the goddes pardon often, and they neuer forgive: the goddes are content to be honoured .v. tymes in the yere, and the Senatours wolde be honoured .x. tymes a day. What wylt thou that I shuld saye moze: but what so euer the goddes do, they oughte to be praysted: and the senatours in all theyr workes deserue to be reproued. Finally I conclude, that the goddis assure and affyrme true

thyng, and they erre and fayle in nothyng: and the
 senators assure nothyng, but erre in all thynges: onely
 for one thyng the senators are not of reason to be cha-
 styshed: and that is, whan they intende not to amende theyr
 fautes, they wylle not suffre the oratours to waste theyr
 tyme to shewe them the trouth. Be it as maye be, I am of
 the opinion, that what man or woman, withdraweth theyr
 cares fro heyrng of trouth, impossyble it is for them to ap-
 plye theyr hartes to loue any vertues: Be it censure that
 ingeth, or senator that ordeyneth, or emperour that com-
 maundeth, or consule that executeth, or oratour that pre-
 cheth. No mortall man, take he neuer so good hede to his
 werkes, nor reason so well in his desires, but that he de-
 serueth some chastysment for some cause or counsaile in
 his doynges. And sith I haue wrytten to the thus of other
 I wylle somewhat speake of my selfe, bycause of the wordes
 of thy letter. I haue gathered, that thou desyrest to knowe
 of my personne. Knowe thou for certayne, that in the ka-
 lendes of Ienuarye I was made censure in the senate, the
 whiche offyce I despyed not, nor I haue not deserued it.
 The opinion of all wyse men is, that noo manne, without
 he lacke wytte, or surmounteth in folly, wylle gladdely take
 on hym the burden and charges of other menne. A great-
 ter case it is for a shamefaste man to take on hym an office
 to please euery man, for he muste shewe a countenaunce
 outwarde, contrarie to that he thynketh inward. Thou
 wylte saye, that the good are ordeyned to take the charge
 of offices. O unhappye Rome, that hath wylled to take
 me in suche wyse, as to be the beste in it. Greuous pesty-
 lence ought to come for them that be good, sith I am sca-
 ped as good amonge the yll. I haue accepted this office,
 not for that I had any nede therof, but to satysfye the de-
 syres of my wyfe Faustine, and to fulfyll the commaunde-

ment of Anthonius my grauntfather. Haue no meruayle of any thyng that I do, but of that I leaue to be doone. For any man that is wedded to faustyne, there is no by-lany but he shall do it. I swere to the, that syth the day we were wedded, me semeth that I haue no wytte. I leaue weddinge for this tyme, and retourne to speake of offices. Surely a peassible man ought to be in offices, though he be paynfull: for as the offices are assured amonge them that be vertuous, so perillously goeth the vertuous folke amonge offices. And for the trouthe hereof reckon what they wyne, and than thou shalt se what they lose. Saye that is good, yf thou knowest it, and here theyll, yf thou desire to knowe it. He that wyll take the charge to gouerne other, he seketh thought and trouble for hym selfe, enuye for his neyghbours, spourres for his ennemyes, pouertye for his ryches, awakynge of theues, peryll for his bodye, an ende of his dayes, and tourment for his good renoume. Finally he seketh awaye to reiecte his frendes, and a re-peale to recouer his ennemies. O an vnhappy man is he, that taketh on hym the charge of chyldren of manye mothers, for he shalbe alwayes charged with thoughtes, how he shulde content them all: full of syghes bycause one hath to gyue hym: feare that one shulde take fro hym, wepyng if he lese, and suspicion that they infame hym. He that knoweth this, without longe taryenge ought to sette a by-dell at his heed. But I saye of one, as I saye of an other. For I wyll swere, and thou wylt not denye it, that we may finde some now adays, that had rather be in the parke to fight ayenst the bulles, than be in suertie vpon the scaffold. Oftentimes I haue hard saye: Go we to the Theatres to renne at the bulles: go we to chase the hartes and wylde boozes: and whā they come there, they renne away, not the bestes fro them, but they fro the beastes. In suche wyse as they

they went runnyng, they retorne agayn fleing. I say these ambitious persones procure to gouerne: & are gouerned: they commaund, and are commaunded, they rule and are ruled: and finally thinkynge to haue dyuers vnder theyr handes, these wretches put them selues vnder euery mans fote. For the remedy of all these perylls my thoughte is comforted with one thing, and that is without procurynge or offerynge my selfe, the senate of theyr owne wyll hath commaunded me. In the viii. table of our auncient lawes be these wordes. We commaund that in our sacred senate charge of iustyce be neuer giuen to hym that willyngly offeth hym selfe to it, but to such as by tyepe deliberation be chosen. This is certaynly a iuste lawe. For men now be not so vertuose nor so louyng to the comon welth, & they wyl forget their owne quietnes and rest, doyng domage to them selfe, to procure an other mans profyte. There is none so folysh, that wyl leue his wife, childre, & his owne swete countrey, to go into strange countreis, but yf he se him selfe amonge strange people, thinkyng vnder the colour of iustice to seke for his own vtilitie. I say not this without wepinge, that the princis with theyr small study & thought, & the iuges with their couetyse, haue vndermynd & shaken down the hygh walles of the policie of Rome. O my freud Catulus, what wylt thou that I shulde saye, but that our credence so minisheth, our couetise so largely stretcheth, our hardines so boldeth, our shamfastnes so shameles, that we prouide for iuges to go & robbe our neyghbours as capitayns apenst our ennemies: I lette the to wyte, where as Rome was beloued for chastisynge the yl, now it is as much hated for dyspopyng of innocentes. I do remember, & I red, in the tyme of Denis Syracusan, that ruled al Sicile, there came an ambassadour fro Rhodes to Rome, beinge of a good age, well lerned, and valyaunt in armes,

and

M A R C V S.

and ryght curpouse to regarde euery thyng. He came to Rome to se the maiestie of the sacred senate: the height of the high capitoll environned with the Colliset: the multitude of senators: the wysdome of the counsaylours, the gloze of triumphes: the correction of the yll, the peace of the inhabitauntes, the dyuersitie of nations: the haboundance of the mayntenaunce, the order of the offyces, and finally seynge that Rome was Rome, he was demaunded howe he semed therby: He answered and sayde, O Rome in this thy present worlde, thou arte fulle of vertues and wyse men, hereafter thou shalt be furnished with foles. Lo what hygh and very high wordes were these? Rome was vi. C. yeres without nyctie of houses of foles, and nowe it hath ben. iiii. C. yeres without one wyse or vertuouse. Loke what I say, it is no mockery, but of trouthe, yf the pitiefull goddis now adapes dyd reyle out predecessours fro dethe to lyfe, eyther they wolde not knowe vs for their chylderne, or elles attache vs for fooles. These be thynges vsed in Rome, but thou sendest noo worde of that is vsed in Agrippine. I wyll wryte nothyng to the, to put the to peyne: wryte to me some thyng to reioyce me, yf thy wyfe Dynsilla chanced well of the flote that came out of Cetin with salte, oyle, and honye, I caused hit to be well prouyded for her. Wrytte thou, that Flodius our vncle was caste downe by rage of his horse, and is decessed. Laertia and Colodius are frendes togyther, by occasyon of a maryage. I do sende the a gowne, I pray to the goddis to sende the to the top therof. My wyfe Faustin saluteth the. Recomende me to Janyo thy sonne. The goddis haue the in keepyng and contrary fortune be fro me. Marcus thy frend to the Catulus his owne.

I letter

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to the amorous ladies of Rome, bycause they made a playe of hym. The. xlii. letter.



Make oratour learning at Rhodes, the art of humanite, to you amorous ladies of Rome salutation to your persones, and amendement of your desyred lyfe. It is wyrtten to me, that at the feast of the mother of the goddes Berecynthia, al ye togyther there present played, & gested on me: wherin ye layd for an example my lyfe & my renoume. It is shewed me, þat Julia composed it, Lucia Fulua wrote it, & thp selfe Coringula dyd singe it, & ye all togyther dyd presente it to the Theatre: ye haue portrayed & paynted me in dyuers maners, w a boke in my hande, tourned contrary as a fayned philosopher: with a tongue alone, as a bolde speaker without measure: with a hoine on my heed, a common cuckold: with a nettell in my hande, as a tremblynge louer: with a baner fallen downe, as a coward capitayn: with halfe a berde, as a feminate man: with a clothe afoze myne eyes, as a condemned bacabound: and yet not content with this, but the other daye ye portrayed me in a new maner, ye made my fygure with fete of straw, my legges of ambre, my knees of wod, the thyghes of brasle, the belly of hoine, the armes of pyche, the handes of mace, the heed of yello, the eares of an asse, the eyes of a serpente, the heares as rotes lagged, the tethe of a catte, the tongue of a scorpion, and the forehead of leade: wherin was wyrtten in two lynes these letters, M, N, T, N, I, S, V, S, the whiche meaneth (as I do take it) The mortall man taketh not the state so strange, as the doublenes of the lyfe: & than ye went to the gytt, and therein tryed his heed downwarde

Mq a hole

a hole day. And yf the lady Messalyn had not ben, I thinke it had ben tyed there tyll now. And now ye amorous ladies haue wytten to me a letter by Fuluius Fabritius, wherof I receiued no pepn, but as an amorous man, from the handes of ladies I take it as a mockerie. And to thentente that I shulde haue no tyme for to thynke thereon, ye sende to wryt a question of me, that is: yf I haue founde in my wrytynges, wherof, by whom, where, whan, what, and howe the fyrste women were made. And bycause my complexion is to take mockes for mockynges, and syth ye demaunde it, I shall shewe it: you and your frendes and myne, and specially Fuluius your messenger hath desyred me therto. There is nothyng wherof I complayne, but I wyll holde my peace, saue to your letter and demaunde I wyll answer. And syth there hath ben none for to aske the question, I protest that to none other, but to you amorous women of Rome, I sende myn answer. And yf any other honest lady wyll take the demaunde of you, it is a token that she hath enup of the offyce that ye be of. Certaynly yf any lady sheweth her selfe annoyed with your pepn openly, fro henceforth I condempne her, that she kepe no faute that she knoweth in secrete. They that be on the stage, fere not the royinge of the bulle: and he that is in a dongeon, feareth not the shotte of artillerie. I wyll say, a woman of good lyfe feareth no man with an yll tongue. The good Patronus may kepe me for their perpetuall seruant, and they that be yll for their chiefe ennemye. Now to answer the questyon, to knowe wherof the fyrste women were made I say that accordynge to the dyuersitie of nations, that be in the worlde, dyuers opinions I fynde in this case. The Egyptians saye, that whan the flood of Nile ranne abrode, and watred the erthe, there abode certayne pices of erthe cleuyng to gether lyke greare, and thanne the heate

heate commynge in them created many wylde beastes: and
 so amonge them was founde the fyfte woman. Note ye
 ladies, that it was necessarie, that the flood of Ayle shuld
 flowe ouer his byminnes, that the fyfte woman myght be
 made on the erthe. All creatures are byedde in the entrail-
 les of theyr mothers, excepte the woman that was byedde
 without a mother. And this semeth true, that without mo-
 thers ye were borne, bycause without rule ye leue, & with-
 out order ye dye. Alerly he putteth hym selfe to many tra-
 uayles, and hath many wyles to fynde, and many times to
 thynke, and to aske many succours, and to abyde many
 yeres, and to chuse amonge many women, that wyll rule
 one onely wyfe by reason. Be the beastes neuer soo cruell
 and fierce, at the laste the lyon is ledde of his keeper with-
 out any bande: The bulle is closed in the parke: the by-
 dell ruleth the hofse, a lytell hooke catcheth the fysh, and
 the wolfe suffreth to be tyed: onely a woman is a beast un-
 able to be tamed, & neuer leseth her boldnes for any thyng
 that is commaunded her, no: the byddell, for not beyng co-
 maunded. The goddis haue made men as men, and bestis
 as bestis, and the humayne vnderstandynge very hygh,
 and his strength of a great power: but yet is there no ma-
 be he neuer so hygh, that shal scape the woman lightly, no:
 defende hym be he neuer so stronge. But I say to you my
 ladies: There is no spurres that can make you goo, no:
 raynes that can holde you, no: byddelle that can restryne
 you, no: angle or net that can take you: and finally there
 is no lawe can subdue you, no: shame restrain you, no: feare
 abashe you, no: chastisemente amende you. O is what
 an yll aduenture putteth be hym selfe, that thinketh to
 rule and correcte you, for if ye take an opinion in hande,
 all the worlde shal not draye you from it: if a man telle
 of harme you of any thinge, ye wyll neuer beleue hym:

And if

If one

If one gyue you good counsell, ye wyl not take it: yf one threaten you, anone ye complayne: yf one flatter you, thā ye wate proude: if one reioyce not in you, ye are spitefull: yf one forbear you, it maketh you bolde: yf ye be chastised, ye tourne to serpentes: finally a woman wyl neuer forgyue any iniurie, nor gyue thanke for any good dede. Howe adapes the mooste simple of all women, I sweare, wyl sweare, that she knoweth lesse than she doeth: and of trouthe: the mooste wyssest mans wytte shall fayle in their reasons: and yet the wyssest of them swarue the fro the all wysdome. Wyl ye knowe my ladyes, how lytle ye knowe and howe moche ye be ignorant: That is, ye determyne sodenly in harde thynges of grauitie, as if ye had studied for it a. Wherres: and yf any gynesaye you, ye take hym as a mortall enemye. Hardy is that woman, that dare gyue counsell to a man, but he is more hardyer that taketh it of a woman. But I say he is a foole that taketh it, & he more foole that asketh it, and he is moche more folye that fulfilleth it. Whyn opinton is, that he shal wyl not falle among so many stones, nor prycke hym among so many thornes, nor blyster hym amonge so many nettys, lette hym heare what I wyl say, and doo as ye shall see: speake welle and worke yll: In promysing promyse moche, In fulfillynge fulfill nothyng, and finally allowe your wordes, and condempne your counselles. If one shulde demaund now adapes of dyuers ryghte renoumed persones, that benne deed, howe they dydde with the counselle of women whan they lyued: I am sure they wold not haue yfren than to beleue them, nor at this houre to be reuyned agayne to here them. How was kynge Philip of Macedon with Olympias: Darys with Helaspia: Alexander with Rosane: Ceneas with Wydo: Hercules with Deianira: Hanniball with Champe: Nero with Agrippine: and yf ye wyl not beleue

beleue what they suffered with them, demaunde of me howe
 I do amonge other. O ye women, I remembryng that I
 am borne of one of you, abhorre my lyfe: and I, thinkynge
 that I lyue with you, desyre deathe. For there is none o-
 ther deathe as to treate with you, and no better lyfe than
 to flee fro you. It is a common sayenge amonge women,
 that we men be vnkynde, bycause we beynge borne in your
 entraples, do create you as bondwomen and seruantes:
 and ye say, syth ye bere vs with peryll, and nourshe vs
 with trauaile, that it were conuenient and iust that we al-
 wayes shuld be occupped in your seruices. Oftentimes I
 haue studped, why men desyre women so moche. There is
 no eyes, but they oughte to wepe, no harte but it shoulde
 breake, no spirite but it shulde be sorowfull to se a wise mā
 losse by a foolyshe woman. The foolyshe louer passeth the
 day to satisfie his syght, the darke nyght to tomble with
 dayne thoughtes: one day heyrng tydynge, an other day
 he offereth seruice: one tyme lounge darkenes, an other
 tyme he hateth lycht: he dyeth with company, and lyueth
 solitarie: and finally the poore foolyshe louer maye that he
 wyll not, and wylleth that he may not. More ouer the coun-
 sell of his frendes profyteth hym not, nor the shame of his
 ennynes, nor losse of his goodes, nor the aduenture of ho-
 nour, nor losynge of his lyfe, nor sekynge of deathe, nor
 comynge nere, nor goynge ferre, nor seynge with eyes, nor
 heyrng with eares, nor tastynge with mouth, nor yet fee-
 lynge of hande: and finally to attayne byctoye, he hathe
 alway warre agayst himselfe. I wolde these louers knew
 fro whens loue procedeth, it is this. The entraples that
 we are bydde in, is of fleshe: the brestes that we sucke, are
 of fleshe: the nomyes that we are noursched in, be of fleshe:
 the wythes that we doo, are of the fleshe, by the whiche oc-
 cuppynge vnkynde, the perille of our deathe is theyr fleshe,
 Many

Many free hartes falle into the snares of loue. It semeth well my ladies, that ye are brought vp in puddels, as the Egyptians say: The puddels kepe no cleere water to drynke, nor fruite to eate, nor fysh to be taken, nor vessell to sayle with: I do say ye are fowle in your lypynge, shamefull in your persons, in aduersitie feble and lethy, in prosperitie subtyll and wylly: false in wordes, doubtfull in your werkes: In hatynge ye kepe a dysorder, extreme to loue, auaricious to gyue, vnshamefast to take: and I saye ye are a receypte of feare, where as wyse men fynde perill, and simple men suffre. In you wise men holde their renomes disalowed, and the simple men they lyfe in penury.

¶ Let vs leue the opinyons of the Egyptians, and come to the Grekes, whiche say, that in the desertes of Arabye the sonne syneth moste hote: and they say, that at the begynnyng there appered a woman alone with a byrde called Phenix, the which byrde they saye, was created of the water, and the woman of the great heate of the sonne, and of the corruption of the powdrie that falleth fro the trees, whiche the womnes do eate. In this wyse there was a tree sooze eaten with womnes, and it chaunced by heate of the sonne, and dryth of the powder, that a fyre kended, and soo brente it: and than of the fyre and powder of the sayd brent tree, the fyrste woman was made. And though I be a philosopher Romaine, I wyll not saye, that the opinion of the philosopher greke was yll. For of trouthe ye ladies that be amorous, haue your tonges of the nature of fyre, & your condicions of the rottennes of the powder of wood. After y diuersite of beestes, nature hath put some strength in dyuers parties of theyr bodies, as the egle in the beake, the vnicorne in the horne, the serpent in the taylor, the bull in the heed, the beare in the armes, the hoys in the back, the dogge in the teethe, the hogge in the greyns, the weddow

in her foytynges, and women in their tonges. Of trouth the
 syght of the wood doue is not so hyghe as the fantasie of
 your folyes, no: the catte scratcheth not so sooze with her
 naples, as ye scratche soles with your importunities: no:
 the dogge hurteth not them, that he cenneth at, as ye doo
 the sojowfull louer that seruerhe you: no: he is not in soo
 greatte peryll of his lyfe that catcheth the bulle by the hoz
 nes, as the good fame of the louer is that falleth into your
 handes. And finally the serpent hath not so moch popson
 in his taylor, as ye haue in your tongues. Set all the good
 Romaine laddes apart, for there be many, of whome there
 is no complaynte of their persones, no: suspicion of their
 good names. Of all suche my letter speaketh not, no: my
 perine wylteth not of them, but of other: I speake of wo
 men that be suche, that all venemous beastes haue not so
 moch popsen in theyr bodie, as they haue in theyr tonges.
 And syth that the goddis haue commaunded, and our de
 serties do permyt, that the lyfe of men can not passe with
 out women: therefore I aduertise these yonge people, and
 pray them that be olde, and awake wyse men, and tech the
 symple, to flee away from women of yll name, rather than
 from a comon pestilence.

Redynge the auncient lawes of Plato, I fynde wyten
 thus: we comand þat al women opely inflamed, be opely put
 out of the cite, to thentet that other seying their synnes not
 unpunished, may abhorre the synne for feare to fal into the
 same peyne. Also the same lawe sayth: we comand, that
 pardon be gyuen to a woman of all the fautes committed
 by her owne body, if any amendement be sene in her: but
 neuer to pardon them that haue committed synne with
 their tonges. For committing synne with an yll persone,
 is of fragilitie, but with the tonge it is of pure malice.

O diuine Plato, make a measure of al understanding,
 and

and prince of all philosophers, whanne thou madeste that lawe in the golden world, that there was neuer suche scarcitie of yll women, and so great aboundance of good women in Grece. What shall we doo nowe in Rome, where there be so many ylle openly, and so fewe good in secret? Naturally they were wont to be shamefast in theyr bysages, temperate in wordes, wyse of wyl, sobe in goynge meke in conuersation, pitiefull in correction, well regardynge theyr lyuynge, not keepynge companyes, stedfast in promesse, and constant in loue. Fynally let not the women that wylbe good, truste in the wisdom of wyse men, nor in the flatterye of lyghte folkes: But lette her vertuously regarde her renoume, and beware alwayes of any manne that maketh her any promyse. For after that the flames of Venus be set on fyre, and Cupide hath shot his arrowes, the ryche man offereth all that he hath, the pooe man all that he may, the wyse man sayth he wylbe her great frend, and the symple alway her seruaunt: the wyse man wyl lose his lyfe for her, and the foole wyl take his deathe for her. The olde man wyl say, he wyl be frend to her frendes: and the yonge man wyl say, he wyl be enemye to her enemyes. Some wil promys to pay her debtes, and other to reuenge her iniuries. Fynally to hyde theyr pouertye, and to shewe theyr beautie, they leaue these fooles losing their persones and good fames. I wyl leaue to speake of good women, for it is not myn entent to lay any charge to theyr charge, but to aduertysse them well. I demaunde of you amorous ladies, if Platon was there, whan ye made a playe of my lyfe, and drew my fygure aboute in Rome: So surely, in dede by that I se in you at this tyme, it is suspicious that is sayd of other. For there is but a fewe in Rome, whome Plato and his lawe dothe excuse. One thyng ye can not deny, if I were the worst of all menne, at the laste ye haue found

founde the ende of my vilantes. And ye can not denye me, but she that is leaste yll of you, in all my lyfe I coulde not shewe the malyce of her lyfe. It is greatte peryll to wyse women, to be nepghbours to fooles: Great peryll it is to them that be shamefast, to be with them that be shameles: great peryll it is to them that be of a meke and styl maner, to be with them that be bolde and rude: great peryll it is for them that be chaste, to be with them that lyue in auoutrie: great peryll it is for the honourable, to be with them that be dysfamed. For the women defamed, thinke that all other be defamed, and desyre that they shulde be defamed, and procure to haue them defamed: and say they be yll famed. And to thentent to couer theyr owne infamy, they infame all other that be good. O you ladies in amours, it is longe sith ye knew me and I you: and yf ye speke, I speke, yf ye knowe, I know: yf ye be styl, I am styl: yf ye speke openly, I wyll not speke in secret. Thou knowest wel Autlina, that made the ieste, how Eumedes solde calues derer in the boucherie, than thou soldest the innocent virgins in thy house. Thou knowest wel Turinga, that one day thou recknest all thy louers, but thou couldest not reckon them on thy fyngers, but despyedst to haue a bushel full of peason. And thou Lucia Fulua knowest well, whan thou were, thou wotest where, with Breto, and madest peace, with thy husbände, thou tokest hym asyde, and saydeste, but yf thou myghtest lye out of thy house ones a weeke, he shuld not lye in the house. And thou Retozia knowest wel, that in thy yonge dayes, two yeres thou were appoynted on the see with a Pyrate, so that he shulde take no moo to satisfye a. C. men of warre in the galep. Thou Egna Corcia knowest well, that whan the censure entred to take the he founde. v. mens gownes, in which thou wentest euer by nyght: & thou haddest but one womans gowne, that thou

Rr

warest

warrest on by daye. Thou knowest well Desplane Fabrice,
that Alumnus Metellus & thou beyng married, before the
Censure demaunded openly his parte, of that thou gatest
in thy honse with thy secrete louers. And thou Camil kno-
west well, not beyng content with thyn owne nation, but
by reason of the great hauntyng that thou haddest with
straungers, thou canst speake all maner of languages. I
wyl marke them that haue marked me, & hurte them that
haue hurte me, persecute them that haue persecuted me,
and infame them that haue infamed me: All other my pen
doth pardon, bycause they haue perdoned me in their play.
And bycause my letter hath begonne in that ye haue done
to my perion, therfore I wyl ende it in that it feleth of your
good names. And thus I conclude, that a man may scape
free fro all domages, with absteynyng fro them: But fro
women there is no way, but to flee fro them. Thus I ende
and demaunde of the goddis, that I maye se of you, as ye
despye to se of me. And sythe ye be louers, I counsell you
as ye haue sent me your ieste for a mocke, in lyke wyse for a
mocke to receyue the answer. Marke Rodian to the amo-
rous ladies of Rome.

A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Boemia a
louer of his, that wolde haue gone with hym
to the warres. The. xv. letter.

MArcke pzetour Romaine sent to the warres of
Dacy, sendeth salute to the his louer Boemia
whiche arte in the pleasures of Rome. I beyng
scaped fro the cruell battell, haue red the few
lynes wryten with thy hande, and haue harde
of the a longe information. I saye to the, thou haste put
me in a moxe greate abasement, than the feare of myne
en-

ennemyes. In takynge thy letter into my hande, forth=
with the herbe of malyce entred into my herte. Whan I
tempre my body with thy delytes. I thynke my hart is fre
fro the venym of thy amours. I of my wpll, and thou by=
cause thou canst do no more, we haue gyuen vs to be free
of our pleasures, I thynke as wel as to make a deuorse of
out enemyes. But suche as ye be, so ye do, banyshmentes
of amours, and treasures of passyons. The loue of you al
ought to be digested with pylles: but the passyon of one of
you wpll not be oppressed with all the Rubarbe in Alexan=
drie. ye shewe your selfe cruell to pardon an enemy, and
euery daye lyght to chaunge louers. Curiously I haue kept
you al the whyle that delytes ouerpresse my youth: yet I
coude neuer se in any woman no certayntie, no: reason in
loue, but hate at the last. Thy present lyghtnes quarelleth
with my youth past: and it is bycause thou seest not in me
the auncient wpll towarde the, no: the present seruice. And
certaynly herynge thyn accusation, and not my iustifica=
tion, as iustly thou paieest me with deth, as I pay the with
forgetfulness. The whiche forgettynge is as straunge to
be in hym that seructh, as vngentilnes in the ladye that is
serued. Thinkest thou, that I haue forgotten the lawe of
Venus, where as it commaundeth, that the curious louers
shuld exercise theyr strengthes in armes, and occupie theyr
hartes in loue: and also that theyr apparell be very clene=
ly, theyr fete well compassed, theyr bodies stedfast and not
waueryng, theyr voyces lowe and softe, and sadde in cou=
tenance: theyr eyes open gasping at wyndowes, and theyr
hartes redy to flee in the ayre. Of trouth my loue Boemia,
he is but a grosse louer, that holdethe his wylle in capty=
uite, and his vnderstandynge free. The vnderstandynge
oughte to be losse, where as wpll is in pryson. I saye this
to thentent that thoughe myne age haue lefte the exercyse,

yet my spirite hathe not forgotten the art. Thou complay-
 nest, bicause I gyue my selfe to rest, & that I haue greatly
 forgotten the. I wyll not deny the trouthe: the day of for-
 gettyng maketh the muster of my thoughtes, and reason
 whiche is prouisor declareth, that it is not to my graunte
 to permyt, that I shuld loue, nor thy age to suffre to be be-
 loued. As nowe thou knowest, that dyuers thynges, that
 youthe dissimuleth in yonge persons, in age meryteth gre-
 uous correction. The dedes done in youthe procedethe of
 ignorance: but the vilanies done in age procedeth of ma-
 lyce. Whan I kepte the Cautons, I ietted in the stretes,
 I sange balades I gased to the wyndowes, I played on
 instrumentes, I scaled the walles, I wakened lyght per-
 sons: thinkest thou, that I wist what I dyd in my youthe:
 and nowe that I se my selfe promoted fro these pleasures,
 and decked with soo many whyte heares, and apparayled
 with soo many dolours, I thynke nowe I was not than,
 or elles I dreame as nowe: not knowynge the wayes that
 I haue gone, not seinge the wayes full of stones, I haue
 fallen ere I was ware, I haue fallen in snares: seking no
 guyde, I was entred into the whirlepoole: and by the
 grossenes of my boldnes, I was lost, and therfore I haue
 deserued pardon. And nowe that I am out of the thornes
 and bushes, thou woldest haue me farther in than euer I
 was. And now that I can not take the purgations, thou
 offereste to me syropes. I haue watched all nyghte, and
 touched newly the alarime. For thy ancient ainitie I pray
 the, and coniure the in the name of the goddis, sythe that
 my harte is rebell againts thy wyll, whiche is rigth dout-
 full: cause me to leaue to desire the thus without doubte.
 And to thentent that thou shuldest not think any vnkind-
 nes in my white heares, as I may argue thy face of ydel-
 nes I wyll that we reckon what we haue wonne, or hope
 to

to wyne. Shewe me what cometh of these pleasures: the
 tyme yll spent, good name in scaterynge to pardicion, the
 patrimonie wasted, the credence losse, the goodis annoy-
 ed, the vertues sclaundered, the name of brute beastes got,
 and surnames of shame: suche ye and we and other be.

Thou wyrttest in thy letter, howe thou wylte leaue Rome,
 and come & se me in the warres of Dacy. Seinge thy folp
 I laugh, and knowledgyng thy boldnesse, I beleue the.
 And whan I thynke thus I take the letter agayne out of
 my bosom, & beholde the seale, doubtyng if it be thy letter
 or not. Thou alterest my pulces and felynges of my hart,
 & the colour of my face chaūgeth, imageninge, that either
 shame surmounteth in the, or elles grauntie fayleth in me.
 For suche lyghtnes shuld not be beleued, but of lyke light
 persones Thou knowest well, he that dothe yll, meriteth
 peyn soner than he that doth infamy. I wold wytte: whi-
 ther thou wylt go: Thou hast ben cutte for vertinace, and
 nowe thou woldest be solde for wyne. Thou beganst fyrst
 as cherries, and thou wilt be laste as quynces: we haue
 eten the in blosomes, and thou wylt be lyke the fruite: the
 nuttes ar very good, but the shales be harde, with strawe
 and donge thou arte made rype, and thou art rotten, and
 if thou be rottē, thou art to be lothed. Thou art not cōtent
 with .xl. yeres, that thou haste, of the whiche .xxv. yeres
 art passed in tast as wyne, that is to be sold: and as strawe-
 berries hyd vnder the leaues that are corrupte and rotten.
 Art not thou Boemia, that lacketh two tethe, the eies ho-
 lowed, with white heares, & a riueld face, one hande losse
 with the gout, & a rypbe marred with childe beryng: why-
 ther wylt thou go: put thy selfe thā in a baryl, & caste the &
 it into the riuier & thou shalt come out al weate. We haue
 eaten the freshe fysh, & nowe thou woldest byng hyther y
 rusty old salt fysh in sted therof. O Boemia Boemia, now

I knowe there is no trust in yowth, no: hope in age. Thou
 complaynest, that thou haste nothyng. That is an olde
 quarell of the amorous ladyes of Rome, whiche takynge
 all, say they haue nothyng: and that ye lacke of credence,
 ye do fulfille with money. Therfore beleue me lounge
 frende, the foly the estate, that procedeth of vnlawfull wy-
 nyng, gyueth small suretie and lesse good name to the per-
 sone. I can not tell howe thou haste spende so moche. For
 yf I drewe of my rynges with one hande, thou dyddest o-
 pen my purse with the other hande. I had greater warres
 with my coffres than, than I haue nowe with myn enne-
 mies. I coulde neuer haue iewell, but thou woldest dema-
 it: for I dyd neuer deny the. Nowe at this houre I mer-
 uayle, for in this myne age I fynde great hynderaunce by
 my yowthe. Thou complaynest of trauayle and pouertye.
 I am he that hath great nede of that medicine for this o-
 pilation, and a playster for that soore, and to haue somme
 colde water for that hote feuer. Art thou not aduysed, that
 I banyshed my necessitie in the londe of forgetfulnes, and
 dyd set vp thy wyl for the request of my seruice. In wynter
 I went all bare, and in sommer charged with clothes,
 I wente on fote in the myre, & rode in the sayre way: whan
 I was heuy, I langhed: and whan I was mery, I wepte.
 For dyed I drewe forth the my strengthes, and oute of my
 strengthes cowardise. The nightes to sigh, and on the day
 to wayte where thou wentest by. Whan thou haddest nede
 of any thyng, I was fayne to robbe my father for it. Tel
 me Boemia, with whom fulfylledst thou thyn open folies,
 but with the yll orders that I putte my selfe to in secrete:
 wot ye what me semeth by you amorous ladyes of Rome:
 ye are in the court as the lytel mothes eating olde clothes,
 and a pastyme for lyght folkes, tresozers of fooles, & sepul-
 chres of vices. This that semeth me is, that if in thy yowth
 euery

euery mā gaue to the, bicause thou shuldest gyue y to euery mā, now thou giuest thy self to euery mā, bycause euery mā shuld giue him to the. Thou tellest me, that thou haste ii. sons, & lackest helpe for them. yelde graces to the goddis of the pitie that they haue bled with the, they haue gyuen to. xv. chyliden of Fabucio my neyghbour but one father, & to two of thy chyliden onely, they haue gyuen. l. fathers. Therfore deuyde them amonge they fathers, and euerye mā shall haue one synger. Lucia thy doughter in dede and myn by suspecte, remembre that I haue done more in marienge of her, thā thou dydst in her procreation. For to the gettyng of her, thou dydst call dyuers, & to mary her I dyd it alone. I wryte to the but lyttel, to the respect of that I wold wryte. Butrio Cornelio hath spoken moche on thy parte, he hym selfe shall shewe the as moche of my parte. It is longe ago syth I knewe thyn impacynce. I knowe well thou wylt sende me an other letter more malicious. I pray the syth I wrote to the secretely, defame me not opely And whan thou redest this letter, remembre what occasyons thou gyuest me to wryte, & though y we be no frendes, yet wyl I not leue to send the syluer. I send the a gowne, & the goddis be with y, & bring me out of this warre with peas. Marke pretour in Dacie to his auncient louer Boemia.

The answer to the emperours letter sent by Boemia. The. xvi. letter.



Boemia thyn ancient louer, to the Marc of moūt Celio her mortal enemy. I desyre be-geāce of thy person, & yll fortune for all thy life. I haue receiued thy letter, & thereby perceue thy dānable intētes & thy cruell malices. Suche yll persons as thou arte haue this priuilege, y sith one doth suffre your vilanies i secret, ye wyl

ye wyll hurte them openly, but thou shalt not doo so with
 me Marc: for though I be not tresouresse of thy tresours,
 yet at leaste I am tresouresse of thyn vlnesse: and where
 as I can not reuenge me with my persone, I shall labour
 to do it with my tongue. And thynke, that though we wo-
 men be weake, and our bodies sone ouercome, yet wyte it
 for certayne, that our hartes are neuer vanquished. Thou
 sayest, that scapyng from a battayle thou dydest receyue
 my letter, wherof thou were soore abashed. It is a very
 common thyng to theym that be weke and slacke, to speke
 of loue, wanton fooles to treate of bokes, and to cowar-
 des to babble of armes: I say it, by cause the answeringe
 to a letter was not of necessitie to reherse to a woman as
 I am, whether it were befoze the battayle or after. I know
 well, thou art scaped fro it, for thou were not the first that
 fought, nor the laste that fled. Whan thou were yonge, I
 neuer sawe the go to the warre, that euer I dyedde or had
 suspecte of thy lyfe: for knowyng thy cowardyse, I neuer
 toke care for thyne absence, for therein I was moost sure
 of thy persone. Than Marc tell me nowe, what thou dost
 in thyn age I thinke thou bearest thy speare not for to iust
 in the warre, but for to leane on whan the gowte greueth
 the. Thy helmette I deme thou bearest with the to drynke
 within tauernes, and not to defende the fro the strokes of
 swerdes: for I neuer sawe the stryke man with thy sword,
 but I haue knowen the slee a. M. women with thy tonge.
 O malicious and vnhappy Marc, if thou were as valy-
 aunt as thou arte malycious, thou shuldest be as greatly
 dyedde of the barbaricke nations, as thou arte hated, as
 reasonne is, of the matrones of Rome. Tell me what thy
 lyst: at the least thou canste not denye, but as thou haste
 ben a weake and slacke louer, soo thou arte nowe a weake
 and slacke cowarde knyght, an vknownen frende, auari-
 cious

rious, infamed, malicious, cruell, enuie to euerp man,
 a frend to no body. And we that haue knowen the, ponge
 stronge and lusty, condemne the for an olde foole. Thou
 sayest that takynge my letter into thy handes, thy harte
 toke the popson of malyce. I beleue it well without swea-
 ryng, for any thyng beyng malycious forthwith syndeth
 lodging in thy house. Beastes, that be corrupt, lightly take
 the popson, that they that ben of good complexion caste a-
 way. Of one thyng I am in certayn, thou shalt not dye of
 popson. For one venym oftentymes dystroyeth an other
 venym. O malycious Marc, yf all they in Rome knewe
 the, as well as sorowfull Boemia dooth, they shuld soone
 se, what difference were betwene the wordes that thou spe-
 kest, and the intention of thy hart. And if by the writings
 that thou makest, thou meritest to haue the name of a phi-
 losopher, by the plnes that thou doest inuente, thou doste
 merite to haue the name of a tyrante. Thou sayest, thou
 sawest neuer certitude in the loue of a woman, no; ende
 of her hate. I haue great gloype, that other ladyes besyde
 me haue knowlege of thy small wysedome. I se Marc, I
 wyl not mocke the, thou arte suche one, as neuer deser-
 ued that one should begynne to loue the, no; leaue to hate
 the. Wylt thou haue certitude in loue, and thou vnfaith-
 full of thy seruyce? Wylt thou serue with mockeryes, and
 woldest be loued truely? Wylt thou enioye the personne
 without spendyng of any of thy goodes? Wylt thou haue
 no complayntes of the, and thou not ceassyng thy maly-
 ces? Thou sayest, thou knowest the plnes of women. I wil
 thou know, we bene so folysh, as thou thinkest, no; thou
 so wyse, as thou weneeste, to prayse thy selfe. yet hytherto
 hath ben sene mo men, to folowe the appetyte of women,
 then there hath ben women folowyng the wylle of men.
 In none of bothe is great trust, and yet we bothe practyse

That

that one man hath his harte so myghty, to be moze wylful
than thye wyse women, and one woman thynketh her soo
strong, to put vnder her feete, and ouercome. iiii. C. suche
as be lyght. Thou sayest, thou arte abashed of my lyght-
nes, to leaue Rome, and come to the beyng in the watteres.
Great is the loue of the countrey, syth that many leaue dy-
uers welthes that they haue in straunge landes, and lyue
straytly, for to lyue in theyr owne lande: but greater is my
loue, syth that I wold leaue Rome with all the pleasures,
to go and serche for the in strange landes among the cruel
battayles. O malicious Marke, O straunge louer, yf I
leaue Rome, it were to go and seke my harte beyng in the
battayles with the. And certaynly dyuers tymes whanne
I do thynke on thyne absence, I swolne and sorowe as
my hart were not with me, and yet I fynde no perfyte re-
medy. I thynke our loue is not lyke these beastes, that ioy
of theyr pleasures, without to wyl, and desyre theyr wyl-
les. I sweare to the by the goddesse Vesta, and by the mo-
ther Berecynthia, that thou owest me moze for one daye of
loue, that I haue had to the, than for the seruices that I
haue done to the in. xxii. yeres. Beholde vnhappy Marke,
howe moche in thy presence I haue alwayes regarded the,
and in thyne absence I haue alwayes thoughte on the, and
slepyng I haue alwayes dremed of the, I haue wepte
for thy trauayle, and laughed at thy pleasure, and finally
all my welth I haue wysshed the, and al thynges I haue
wysshed me. I ensure the one thyng, that as nowe I fele
not so moche the persecution that thou doest to me, as I
do the mysknowlege that thou makest to me. It is a great
sorowe for an auaricious man to see his goodes losse, but
without comparison it is farre greater for the louer to se
his loue yll bestowed. It is a hurt that is alway soore, & a
peyn alway peynful, a sorow alway sorowful, & it is a deth
that

that neuer endeth, O ye men, yf ye knewe with what loue women loueth you in perfytenes whan they loue, & with what harte they hate whan they are set to hate: I swere to you, ye wold neuer cōpany with thē in loue: or if ye do loue them, ye wold neuer leue thē for feare of their hate: & there is neuer gret hate, but where as moch loue was fyrst. But thou shalt neuer be gretly hated, for thou were neuer truly loued of ladies. The sorowfull Boemia hath loued p. xxi. yere of her lyfe, & now she only hateth p. tyl after her deth. Thou sayest, I may be eaten for veruyce, and yet I wold be solde for wyne. I knowe well I haue erred, as one that hath ben ponge and lyght, and whan I perceyued that I had losse my way, and that my mysaduenture can fynd no way nor remedy: It is the greatest losse of all losses, whan there is no remedy. I haue erred lyke a feble and a weak woman, but thou hast erred as a stronge man: I haue erred by simple ignoraunce, but thou hast erred of a prepen- sed and wilfull malice: I haue erred, not knowynge that I shulde haue erred, but thou knewest what thou dyddest: I haue trusted to thy wordes, as to a saythfull gentylle man, and thou hast begyled me with a thousande lesyn- ges as a lyer. Tell me dyddest thou not seke occasyon to comme into my mothers house Getulia, to allure me her doughter Boemia to thy mynde: Dyddest thou not pro- mple my father to teache me to rede in one yere: and thou taughtest me to rede the booke of Ouidius, of the arte of loue: Dyddest thou not sweare to be my husbaunde, and than withdywest thy hande as a false aduoultrer: Doest thou not knowe, that thou neuer foundest villanie in my personne, nor I neuer founde trouthe in thy mouthe: At least thou canst not denye, but thou hast offended the god- dis, and arte infamed of men, & odious to the Romaynes, sclaundred of good folkes, and example to the yll folkes.

S i u

and

and fynally a traytour to my father and mother, a breker
of thy faythe, and to me sorowfull Boemia an vnkynde
louer. O malycious Marc, hast thou not cutte me in lea-
ues, offerynge to my father to kepe his vynes surely: All
may the chekyn truste the kyte, o: the lambes the wolues:
a worse the to byng vp the doughters of the that be good.
O cursed Marke, o damageable keper of vines hathe the
matrones of Rome founde the, in keepnge they: dought-
ters: I swere, that there was neyther grape nor cluster,
but it was eaten o: cut by the. Thou dydst eate me beyng
grene. I promyse the it hath sette thy tethe on an yll edge.
Thou sayeste, I ryped by powre of heate and drawe. It
displeaseth me not so moche, that thou sayeste, as thou gy-
uest me occasyon to saye to the. Thy shame is so shamesful,
and thy malyce so vnshamefast, that I can not aunswere
the to the pourpose, withoute hurtynge o: touchynge the
quycke. I wolde wytte of the, whan thou marpedst Fau-
styn, whether thou foundest her grene o: rype: Thou kno-
west well, and like wyse so do I, that other besyde the, gau-
ged the vessel, and thou drankest the lies: other gathered
the grapes, and thou gleyndest the vine: other dyd eate the
grapes, and thou haddest the huskes. O wycked Marke,
beholde thyne euylles, and howe the goddis haue gyuen
the iust chastysment, that thou beyng yong meritedst not
to be despyed of thy louers, nor that thy wyues kepe feithe
to the in thyne age. For to be aduenged of thy persone, I
nede none other thyng, but to se the marped to Faustyne.
By the mother Berecynthia I promyse the, yf thy small
wysedome myghte attayne to knowe entierly, what is said
of her and the in Rome, surely thou woldest wepe nyghte
and day for the lyfe of Faustyne, and not leue the thought-
full Boemia. O Marc, lyttell thoughte is taken for the, &
how fer is out vnderstandyng uncoupled for thy thought-
tes:

res: bycause that with thy great doctryne by daye tyme thy house is made a scholl of philosophers, and the wantonnesse of thy wyfe Faustyne by nyghte, maketh it a bordell of ruffians. It is a iuste iugement of the goddis, that sith thyn onely malyce sufficeth to popson many that be good, that one alone may suffice to vnbend & lose thyn renoume. One difference there is betwene the and me, and thy wyfe Faustyne: for my dedes are but in suspecte, and yours are openly known in dede: myne are secreete, and yours are euident: I haue stobled, but ye haue fallen. Of one thyng alone I haue merited to be chastised, but ye haue deserued no forgyuenes: My dishonour is deed with the fault, and is buried with myn amedement, but your infamie is borne with your desyres, and is broughte bp with your wylls, and lyueth still with your werkes: finally therfore youre infamie shall neuer dye, for you lyued neuer well. O malicious Marcus, with all that thou knowest, wotest thou not, that for losynge of a good name, an yll fame is reco- uered: and in the ende of a good lyfe, begynneth a good faame: Thou ceasest not to say ylle onely by suspycyon, the whiche thy false iugementes shewe the: and yet thou woldest we shulde not speake that we se with our eyes. Of one thyng be thou sure, that neyther of the, nor of thy wyfe Faustyne there is no false wptnesse: for the trouth is so euident, that there nedeth not to inuent any lyes. Thou sayst, that it is an olde quarel of amorous ladies of Rome that in takinge fro many we are the pooresse of all other: because we faile in credence, we are honoured for spliter. It is of certayntie, that we mistruste the hollie because of his pyckes, the acornes, for his hulkes, the roses among nettles, and thy mouth for thy malyce I haue curiouslye taken hede, that thou neuer sayest well by women, nor I neuer could fynde, that any wolde the good. What great-

ter correction shuld I haue of thy wickednes, or moze ven-
 geance for myn iniuries, but to be certayne, that all the lo-
 uynge ladyes of Rome are sorre of thy lyfe, and wolde be
 gladde of thy dethe: The lyfe of that man is wycked, that
 many bewaile, and in whose dethe euery body reioyseth.
 It is the propertie of pooze unkynde persons as thou art,
 to forgette the great goodnesse done to them, and to be so-
 ry for the lyttell that they gyue. As moche as noble hartis
 glorifie them in gyuynge to other, so moche are they asha-
 med to receyue seruices unrewarded. For in gyuynge they
 make them selfe lordes, and in receyuyng they are as sla-
 ues. I wolde wytte what thou hast gyuen me, or what
 thou haste receyued of me: I haue aduentured my good
 name, and gyuen the possession of my personne: I haue
 made the lord and mayster of all my goodes: I haue ba-
 nyshed my selfe out of my countrey, and putte my selfe in
 peryl onely for thy sake: and in recompence of al this, thou
 reprochest me now of miserie. Thou neuer gauest me any-
 thyng with thy good wyl, nor I neuer receyued it wyllyn-
 gly, nor it dyd me neuer profyt. Al thynges recouer a name,
 not for the common warke that we see, but for the secreete
 intention with the whiche we worke. And thou unhappy
 man desiredst me, not to enioye my personne, but rather to
 haue my money. We ought not to cal the a clere louer, but
 a thefe, & a wylly see rouer. I had a lyttell ryng of the, whi-
 che I am determyned to caste into the ryuer, and the clo-
 thyng that I had of the I haue byente in the fyre. And yf
 that my body were any thyng amended with the bread that
 I haue eaten of thyn, I wolde cutte my fleshe, and let out
 the blode without any feare. O cursed Marke, thy darke
 malyce wolde not suffre the clerely to vnderstande my let-
 ter: for I entended not to aske moneye, to releue my poo-
 uertie and solitarinesse, but reknowlegynge and thyn-
 kynge

kpruge to satisfie my wplyng herte. Suche bayne and co-
 uetous menne as thou arte thy selfe, are pleased with gyf-
 tes, but the hartes incarnate in loue are lyttell satysfied
 with spluer. For loue onely is payde with loue agayne.
 The manne that loueth not as a manne of reasone, but
 as a brute beaste, and the woman that loueth not but for
 the interestte of her persone: such ought not to be trusted in
 theyr wordes, nor their persones desyred. For the loue of
 her endeth, whan the goodes fayle: and the loue of hym,
 whan her beautie fayleth. If thy loue proceded onely of
 the beautie of my face, and my loue onely for the money of
 thy pous: it were no ryghte, that we were callyd wyse
 louers, but rather very nyce persons. O wycked Marke,
 I neuer loued the for thy goodes, though thou louedst me
 for my beautie: with all my herte I loued the than, & with
 all my harte I hate the now. Thou sayst the goddis haue
 shewed me great pitie, to gyue me fewe chylterne, and to
 them many fathers. The greatestt blame in women is to
 be vnshamefast, and the moste vylanie in men is to be yll
 sayers. Dyuers thinges ought to be suffered for the fragili-
 tie of women, whiche are not permytted in the wysdome of
 men. I say this bycause I neuer sawe temperaunce in the
 for to couer thynne owne malpces, nor wysdome to excuse
 the debilities of other. Thou sayest, that my sonnes haue
 dyuers fathers. I sweare vnto the, that though thou dye,
 the chylterne of Faustine shall not be fatherlesse. And of
 trouthe if the goddis, as thou sayest, haue be pitiefull to
 my chyltern, no lesse art thou to strange children. For Fau-
 stine kepeth the but to excuse her blame, and to be tutout
 of her children O cursed Marc, thou mayst well reioyce &
 take no thought, for thyn owne chyltern haue noo nede
 to be married. For some thyng we are bounde, that is for
 the example, the whiche thou doste gyue of thy pacence:
 For

M A R C V S

For sythe thou suffrest faustine in so many instances, it is no great nede that we suffre any secretes in the. I saye no moze at this tyme, makynge an ende of my letter, despyng the ende of thy person.

A letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Martine a yonge mayden of Rome, of whom he was enamoured, seinge her at a wyndowe.

The. xvi. letter.



Make the emperour, the very despyous, to the Martine greatly despyed. I wote not if by good aduenture of myn yll aduenture, or by yll aduenture of my good aduenture, I dyd see the of late at a wyndow, where as thou heldest thyne armes as close as myn eien were spied abrode, that cursed be they for euer. For in beholdyng thy face, my harte forthewith abode with the as prysoner. The begynnyng of thy knowlege is the ende of my reason, and fellynge of flyght. Of one trauayle cometh infinite trauayles to me, I say it for this, if I had not ben ydel, I had not gone out of my howse, and yf I hadde not gone out of my howse, I had not gone oute into the streeces, and yf I had not passyd through the strete, I hadde not sene the at thy wyndowe, and yf I hadde not sene the at thy wyndowe, I had not despyed thy persone: and not despyng thy person, I had not put thy name in so great perille, nor my lyfe in trauaille, nor had gyuen none occasion in al Rome to speke of vs. Of a trowth lady Martine in this case I condemne my selfe, syth I wold beholde the, And thou woldest be saluted, syth thou despyedst to be sene. And syth thou were set as a whyte marke, it was no great metuaple that I shot with

with the arrowes of myne eyes at the buttes of thy beauty,
 with rolling eyes, with browes bent, well coloured face,
 incarnate cheekes, ruddy lippes, cryspe heares, handes sette
 with rynges, clothed with a .M. maner of clothynge,
 bearyng purples full of swete smelles, and bracelettes full
 of knackes, with perles and stones at the eares. Tell me
 what becometh of a woman, with these thynges, that wyll
 shewe her selfe at a wyndowe. The mooste cause is, that
 I can esteeme oʒ thynke therein, that sith you do shewe your
 bodie openly to vs at the eie, that your wylle is, that we
 shuld knowe your desyres secretely. And yf it be so, as I
 asserme, that it is so, it semeth me madame Mattrine, thou
 shuldest desyre hym that desyeth the, to enforme hym that
 fetcheth the, to answer hym that calleth the, & fele that he
 feleth: intende to hym that intendeth to the: and sith I
 vnderstande the, vnderstande me, and vnderstande sythe
 thou doest not vnderstande. I am aduysed, as I went by
 the strete Salaria to se theues putte to iustyce, myne eyes
 sawe the at a wyndowe, on whome dependeth all my de-
 sires. Thou doest moze iustyce to me, then I do to the the-
 ues: for I beynge at iustyce, thou haste iustified the iustice,
 and none dare peyne the. The gybette is not so cruell to
 them that neuer knew but yl doing, as thou art to me that
 neuer thought, but howe I myghte doo the scrupce. The
 theues suffre but one death, and thou makest me to suffre
 a .M. in a daye. In one houre the theues liues are ended,
 and I dye euery mynute: I drawe towarde death wrong-
 fully, and they suffre for theyr fautes: I suffre an innocēt
 the openly, and I in secrete. What shall I saye moze to
 the: of trouthe they wepte watry droppes with theyr eyes,
 bycause they dye, and I wepe teares of bloud in my harte,
 bycause I lyue. This is the dyfference, theyr tourmentes
 spredeth abode through all theyr bodie, and I kepe myn
 Et toge=

together in my hart. O cruell Matrine, I canne not telle what iustyce it is to put men to dethe that steale money, & suffre women to lyue that robbe mennes hartes: If theye eares be cut of, that picke mens poutses, why are women than pardoned, that robbe mens inwarde hartes and entraples: By thy noblenes I pray the, and by the goddessse Venus I conuere the, epyther answere to my desyre, or elles restore my harte agayne, whiche thou hast robbed fro me. I wolde thou knewest the clere fayth of my harte, rather than this letter wryten with my hande. If myn aduenture were so good, as to speke with the, and that thy loue were not ashamed therof, I wolde hope with the syght & speche to wyne that which I am in suspecte to lese by my letter. The reason is, bycause thou hereste my vyle and rude reasons redynge my letter. And if thou sawest me, thou shuldest see the cruelle teares that I offre to the by my lyfe. I wolde my mouth coulde publyshe myn enraged euylles, as my harte feleth, than I swere to the lady Matrine, that my greuous dolour shulde awake thy small thought. And as thy beantie & myn affection haue made me thyn owne, so the knowlege of my passion shuld make the mine. I desyre that thou shuldest regarde the begynnynge, and therewith regarde the ende. Certaynly the same day that thou enprisonedst my harte at thy wyndowe, in the doungeon of my desyres, I had no lesse weakenesse to be ouercome, thanne thou haddeste force to constrayne me. And more greater is thy power to putte thy selfe from me, than my reason is to putte me fro the, I aske no mercede of the, but that we myghte declare oure wylls togyther. But in this case what wylte thou that I shoulde say, but that thou hast so moch power ouer me, and I so lytel of my lybertie, that wyl I nyl I, my hart can not be but thynne: And hit beyng thynne, thou mayste, and wylte not declare thy selfe
to be

to be myn. And sith it may not be, but that my lyfe must be condemned in thy scrupce, be thou as sure of my fayth as I am doubtfull of thy hope: for I shall haue a greater welthe to be losse for thy sake, thanne to wyne any other thyng. I wyl saye no more atte this tyme, but that thou accompte my perdition and deathe, and drawe the lyfe of my teares into open ioye. And bycause that I holde my fayth in thy fayth, and wyl neuer despayre in thy hope, I sende to the .x. lytell rynges of golde, with .x. stones of Alexander. And I coniure the by the immortall goddis, that whan thou doest put theym on thy fyngers, thou sette me in thyn harte and entayles, Marcus amorous wrote this with his owne hande.

An other letter sente by Marc the emperour to the sayde gentyll woman Matrine.

The .xviii. letter.



Arke habitant at Rome, to the Matrine his right swete ennemy. I cal the swete, for it is iuste that I dye for the. And I cal the enemy, bycause thou makest not an ende to sle me. I can not tel wherin it is but syth the feaste of Iano hitherto, I haue witen thre letters to the. And to þ answer of them, I wold that I had sene two letters from the, if it were thy plasure. If that I serue the, thou woldst that I shulde not serue: if I speke, thou wilt not speke to me, if I loke at the, thou wylte not beholde me: if I call the thou wylt not answere: if I visite the, thou wylte not se me: yf I wyte to the, thou wylt gyue me none answere, & worst of all, yf other do shewe the of my dolours, thou makest but a mocke therof. And yf I had as moch knowlege,

Et ii

where

tryne, I holde my selfe banquysshed: yf thou wylte lose me, I holde me for loste: yf thou wylt sle me, I yeld my selfe as deade. For by the gesture that I make afore thy gate, and the syghes that I make in myn owne house, are gretly myne to resyste, and the greuous assault of the, be edyfyces more to sommon dethe, thanne to defende the life: If thou wilt that I scape this daunger, deny me not the remedy, bycause it shalbe a greater vice in the to sle me, than vilany to gyue me remedy. And it were no iuste thunge for so small a pyece to lose the fayth of so gret scrupce. I wote not what to do, to make the my debtour, and thou to pay me. And yet worst of all, I wote not what to do, nor what to thinke nor to say, nor to whom to determine me, bicause I can not assure any posyite in me, but to be certayne in thy seruices. And bicause thou doste truste hym that hath done this message, by hem I do send this open letter, and my secrete answer. I do send the a iewell of perles, and a besand of gold. To the goddis I do commende the. And I require the for to receyue it with as good a wyl as I do presente it vnto the. Marc the oratour to the righte honorable Matrine.

A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Apbia a fayre lady Romaine.

The. xix. letter.



Arke full of sorowe and penyfenes, to the Apbia takynge but lyttell thought or care: yf thy small thought passed any thunge on me, & also if my troubles & dolours were lodged & dydde rest in þ, that thou shuldest perceyue & se howe smal the quarel were, þ which I make to the, in respecte of the

the tourment that I do suffre, yf the blaspyng flames issued oute, as the fyrred byrondes do byenne me within, the smoke wolde reache to the heuens, and make ymbres of the erthe: yf thou doest well remembre the fyrste tyme that I sawe the in the temple of the virgyns vestales, thou beinge there praydest the goddis for thy selfe, and I on my knees prayed the for my selfe. I knowe well thou offeredst hony and oyle to the goddis, and I offered to the soore wepynges and syghes. It is a iuste thyng to gyue moze to hym that offereth his inwardc entrayles, than to hym that draweth money out of his purse to offre. I haue determined, and disposed me, to wryte to the this letter, that thou shyddest se howe thou arte scrved with the arrowes of myne eyes, that were shotte at the whyte of thy serupces. Alas, how sorrowfull am I to thynke, least the calme tyme now, doth threten me with the tempest to come. I wyl say, that disloue in the, causeth the hope doubtfull in me. Beholde what mysaducture I had losse a letter, and I as I retourned to the temple to seke for it, I hadde nere losse my selfe, in goyng thither so often, cōsydering my smal merite. I se well, that myne eyes the ladders of my hope, are set on soohye a walle, that no lesse is the doubte of my fall, than the daunger of the clymmyngge vppe. Thou bowyng Dāwne the leaues of thy hygh merytes, haste broughte me to the poynte of continuall seruice. Lette me haue the fruyte, and gyue the leaues to whome thou wylte. By the immortalle goddis, I haue great meruayle, for surely I thought that in the temple of the virgyns Vestales, no manne shoulde haue had temptacions. But as nowe I doo synde by experience, that that woman is moze lybetall, and sooner ouercome, that is faste and straitly kept and watched, than other. All the corporal damages are fyrst hard of, er they be knownen, and knownen er they be sene, and sene er they be felte,

felte, and felte, er they be tasted, yet it is not so in lone. For
 fyrst they fele the stroke therof, er they see the way howe it
 cometh. The lyghtnyng is not so sodeyne, but it is sene
 afore the thonder clappe, nor the wall falleth not so sodeyn
 ly, but fyrst some stones breake asonder, nor the colde co-
 meth not so faste on, but some small sheerpenges cometh
 befoze: but all onely loue is not felte tyll it be settled in the
 entrayles. Let euery man knowe it that knowe it not, and
 thou lady Libie yf thou wylt, knowe: Loue slepeth whan
 we wake, and waketh whan we slepe, and laugheth whan
 we wepe, and wepeth whan we laugh: it assureth in ta-
 kyng, and taketh in assuryng: And speaketh whan we be
 styll, and is styll whan we speke: And fynally it is of that
 condicion, that for to gyue vs that we desyre, it causeth vs
 to lyue in payne. I sweare to the, whan my wyll became
 thy seruante, and thy beautie caused, that thou were my
 lady, whan I was in the temple and returned agayn thy-
 ther, not desyringe the, thou beheldest me, and I as vn-
 happy loked on the. But O what a thoughte came to me,
 that my hatte beyng hole, thou haste dyuyded, beyng in
 helthe thou haste hurte, beyng aloue thou haste slayne, be-
 yng myn thou haste stolen it, and that worst of all is, not
 helpynge to my lyfe, thou consentest that loue assaile me
 to the dethe. Many tymes lady Libia consyderynge that
 al my thoughtes ben hygh, and my fortune lowe, I wolde
 haue seperate my selfe fro the. But consyderynge that my
 trauayles are well applyed in thy seruyces, I say thoughe
 I myght, I wyll not be seperate fro the. I wyll not denye
 one thyng, and that is, that cursed loue taketh awaye the
 taste of all thynges, and yet therby alonly it gyueth vs ap-
 petite, the whiche gyueth vs moche yll proufyte. This is
 the profe of hym that loueth hartly. For one disfaour of
 hym that is beloued, is moze than all the fauour of this
 lyfe

lyfe. I thinke lady Libia thou art gretly abashed to se me
 outwarde as a philosopher, and to knowe me inwarde a
 secreete louet. I praye the Libia discouer me not: for yf
 that the goddis graue me longe lyfe, I am mynded for to
 amende. And thoughe I be at this howre but a yonge
 foole in the arte of loue, whan I am olde I shall be wyse:
 the goddis knowe what I desyre, and the force that I do
 enforce me to: but as the fleshe is weake, and the hart ten-
 der, and hath many occasions and fewe vertues, and the
 worlde subtyll, and the people malitious, I passe this be-
 gynnynge and spring of floures with hope that in haruest
 I shall haue some fruite. Dame Libia doest thou thinke,
 that philosophers though they were neuer so sage, be not
 stryken with the cruelties of loue? and that vnder theyr
 cours clothes their fleche is not smothe? Certainly among
 the harde bones softe fleche is bred, vnder the sharpe hus-
 kes the chestnutte is nouryshe. I saye that vnder course
 apparell, is true and perfyte loue. I deny not but that our
 slacke nature respisteth not with vertues: nor I denye not,
 but there be yonge wanton desyres not repressed with ver-
 tuous purposes: I deny not, but that the bytte of yowthe
 is not reseyned with the byrdell of reason: I denye not,
 but that that the fleshe procureth, is dyuers tymes with-
 stande by wysedome. And also I knowlege well, that he
 that is not amorous, is a foole. And thou knoweste, that
 thoughe we be wyse, we leaue not therfore to be men. All
 that euer we lerne in all oure lyues suffiseth not to knowe
 howe to rule the fleshe one houre. To wyse menne in this
 case hath fallen many errours: there be many maysters
 in vertues, and many moo hath bene, and yet they haue
 ben ouercome with vices: wherfore than doest thou in-
 uaple of me alone? I confesse of trouthe, that I had ne-
 ver myne vnderstandynge so clere, as whan Cupyde fan-

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ned wind on me with his winges. There was neuer none
vnto my tyme, that euer was noted wyle, but fyrst he was
a prisoner & bound with the loue of Cupide. Statian was
amorous on Camp: Solon Salaminus giuer of the la-
wes, was amorous of Greceane: Pytacus Mitelenus
lefte his owne wyfe, and was enamored of a bond woman,
that he broughte from the walces. Cleobulus of Caria
whan he was ful .lxx. yere olde, and had redde philosophy
xlv. yere, scalynge the house of his neyghbour, felle of the
ladder and dyed. Periander prince of Acaie, and a great
philosopher of Grece, at y prayer of one of his louers slew
his wyfe. Anacharsis a philosopher a Scythian of his fa-
ther spde, and a greke of his mother spde, was so enamo-
red of a woman of Thebes, that he taught her all his cun-
nyng: and whan he was sycke in his bedde, she redde in
the schole for hym. Epimenides of Crete, that slepte .xv.
yeres without waking, and though he was .x. yere a great
worshypper of the goddis, yet he was banysshed frome A-
thenes for the loue of women. Archyta Tarentyn, may-
ster of Plato, and discipule of Pythagoras, occupied his
mynde more to inuentethe kindes of loue, than his forces
in doctrines of vertues. Gorgio Cleontino, borne in Sy-
cyll, kepte rather concubines in his chambree, than booke
in the scoles. All these were wyle men, and yet we maye
se, howe at the laste they were ouercome with the fleshe.
Than blame not me alone: for as I haue tolde of so fewe
in noumbre, so I coude recyte of other a holle armye. Of
trouth he ought to haue many thynges, that wylle be ta-
ken as curious in loue. He muste haue his eien displayed
on her that he loueth, his vnderstandynge soze altered in
that he thinketh, his tonge troubled in that he shulde saye:
So that in seinge he be blynded, in thoughtes wandringe,
and in speakynge troubled, O lady Libia, the lounge in
moche

mockerie passeth by mockerie: but where as the true harte is, there is the grefe and no mockerie. Loue shedeth her popfome, and cruell Cuppydo fyreth his arrowes vppre to the fethers. Than the eien wepe, the harte syghethe, the fleshe trembleth, the synewes shynke, the vnderstandynge wareth grosse, reason fayleth, and so all falleth to the erthe, so that fynally the heuy louer abydyng in hym selfe, holdeth lyttell or nothyng of hym selfe. All this I say, bicause that knowlege to loue fayleth in me: yet be ye sure, that the workes fayle me not to worke in thy seruice. And syth it was myne aduenture to see the, nowe it is my chaunce to knowe the, I demaunde nothyng elles of the, but that thou wylte loue me truely, sythe I loue the withoute fepnyng. And if thou haste harde, that I am sycke at my harte, I desyre the to do me some good: for sythe it is all onely in the, it is reason that thou all onely seke for remedy. I was greatly comforted, whan Fabius Carpinus desyred me in thy behalfe to be a prisoner, and I dyd incontinent all that thou dyddest desyre, to the entente that thou on some daye shuldest do that I desyre. And beholde lady Lybia, the woman that is serued with seruyces, it is reasonne that she receyue some prayers. And thoughe my strengthes haue no power to open the gates of thy purpose, as not to agree to thy demaunde, yet all my labours be bicause of thy renoume. I praye the discouer not the one, nor begyle me not with the other. For nowe thou seest that in grauntynge is remedy, and in truste is comforte, but prouesse is decepuable, the delayenge is peryllous, and the entreatynge byndeth. I see verue welle, that the hasty demaunde deserueth a longe aunswere: but I wold not that thou shuldest do soo: but as I desyre the, soo desyre me. I save agayne, I am all thyne, and not myne owne. And as for my selfe in al thynges I wyll serue the.

Uv.ii.

And

M A R C V S

And lady Libia regard, that it were as moche honour for the, as profitable for me, to tourne thy disordinate desires and purposes. For thou seest well it is much better to heale shortly than to late with saylinge of thy purpose. All women kepe one dangerous oppynion, that is, they will neuer receyue counsell that is gyven them in a great cause: and if it be so, as I thinke, sythe thou arte praysed and esteemed of great beautie, than be esteemed to receyue good counsell. And in this maner in case that my damage be very great, and thy patience very lyttell, I shalbe called wise to gyve the suche counsell, and thou ryghte gracious to folowe it. One thyng I saye, and pardone me, though I shewe it to the, howe that women be greatly infamed, that will take no counsell, and suche as will assure their renoume by the opinion of other, as moche as though they were determyned so to doo their selfe. Wherefore I wolde ye shuld do one thyng for an other, as I counsayle you. And if thou fyndest any pille therby, withdrawe thy hande. I will say no more to the, but that I doo presente to the al my unhappie troubles, my desperate syghes, and my seruyces as thy seruaunt: My troubled dolours, my wordes of philosophy, and my amorous teares. Also I sende the a gyrdelle of golde, and I gyve it the on the condition, that thou sette thyn eies thereon, and apply thy hartte to me. I pray the goddis to gyve me to the, and the to me. Marcus Aurelius the philosopher writteth this in very great secreete.

¶ THVS ENDETH THE GOLDEN Booke of the eloquent Marc Aurelie emperour: who so euer be reder thereof maye take it by reason, for a ryche and a newe labour, and specially pryncis and gouernours of the common welth, and mynisters of iustyce with other. Also the common people eche of theym maye fynde the labour convenient

ueniente to their estate . And therein is conteyned certayne
 right hygh and pꝛofounde sentences, and hollosom counsel-
 les, and meruaylous deuysses ageynst thencumbꝛaunce of
 fortune: and ryght swete consolations for them that are o-
 uerthrowen by fortune. Finally it is good to them that di-
 gest it, and thanke god that hath gyuen suche grace to a
 paynym, in gꝛupnge vs exaumple of vertuous lypunge,
 with hye and salutary doctrines and meruaylous instru-
 ctions of perfectnes. Certainly as great prayse as oughte
 to be gyuen to the auctour, is to be gyuen to the transla-
 tours, that haue laboriously reduced this treatyse oute of
 Greke into Latin, and out of Latin into Castilian, and out
 of Castilian into frenche, and out of frenche into englishe,
 wryten in high and swete styles . O ryght happy trauayle,
 sythe that suche fruyte is issued therof. And also blessyd
 be the handes that haue wrytten hit . A ryghte pꝛecyous
 meate is the sentences of this boke: But finally the sauce
 of the sayd swete style moueth the appetite . Many bokes
 there be of substancial meates, but they be so rude and
 so vnsauery, and the style of so smal grace, that the
 fyyste morsell is lothesome and noyfull: And of
 suche bokes foloweth to lye hole and sounde
 in Lybraries, but I truste this wyll
 not. Of trouthe great prayse is
 due to the auctour of his
 trauayll. And syth
 there can be no
 grace equi-
 polent
 in erthe, lette vs praye to god to
 gyue hym grace & rewarde
 in heuen. Amen.
 Graces to god.
 FINIS .

Y Thus endeth the volume of *Marke Aurelie empe-*
tour, otherwise called the golden boke, translated oute of
French into *Englyshe* by *John Bourtchier knyghte*
lord *Barners*, deputie general of the *kynges*
towne of *Caleis* and marches of the same,
 at the instat desire of his nephew *sp;*
Francis Bryan knyghte, ended
 at *Caleis* the tenth day of
Marche, in the pere
 of the *Reygne*
 of our so-
 uerayn
lord *kyng* **HENRY**
 the. **VIII.** the
XXIII.



LONDINI IN AEDIBVS THO-
MAE BRTHELETIRE-
GII IMPRESSORIS.
ANNO.M.D.XXXVIII.
CVM PRIVI-
LEGIO.

